UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL

GENERAL

UNESCO/SS/CONF.URB/6
E/CN.11/URB/6
4 July 1956

ORIGINAL : ENGLISH

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

JOINT UN/UNESCO SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION IN THE ECAFE REGION

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, in co-operation with the International Labour Office

8-18 August 1956
Bangkok, Thailand

PROBLEMS OF MANPOWER AND PRODUCTIVITY

Prepared by the International Labour Office

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1. This paper falls into two parts. The first part describes some of the human and social problems associated with the movement of people from the country to the towns in the ECAFE region, and discusses certain short-term and longer-term measures in the field of manpower policy (notably training and employment market organization) which may help towards a solution of these problems. Important as they are, however, such measures need to be devised and applied as integral parts of more general policies aiming at economic development and higher levels of employment and productivity. These more general problems are discussed briefly in the second part of the paper.

2. In his report to the 39th session of the International Labour Conference the Director-General of the ILO included a chapter discussing problems of rural and urban employment and the relations between them.[1] Copies of this report have been distributed to participants in the Seminar along with the present paper, and reference is made to it at various points in this paper.

Part I - MANPOWER PROBLEMS

Introduction

3. The method of approaching and solving problems relating to the employment, qualifications and training of persons coming from rural areas or villages to the towns[2] must necessarily vary according to the objective in mind. Insofar as the process of urbanization is considered inevitable and irreversible the measures to be envisaged will seek to integrate the new population groups as quickly and efficiently as possible into urban living and working conditions. If, on the other hand, it is considered desirable and feasible to try to counteract the process of urbanization, efforts will be directed in the first place to limiting the movement of rural population groups to the towns by creating a new equilibrium between the urban and rural economies, while at the same time endeavouring to promote the

/assimilation

1/ International Labour Conference, 39th session, Geneva, 1956, Report I: Report of the Director-General (ILO, Geneva, 1956), Chapter II.

2/ Reasons for this townward movement, which is usually unorganized and haphazard in character, are not examined in this paper. But see ILO: Report of the Director-General, op.cit., pp.61-65.

assimilation of the new population groups in the towns. Efforts may also be made to decentralize the urban economy in the sense of encouraging the growth not of a few giant cities but of a larger number of market towns centred upon small-scale and handicraft trades and industries. Such a policy seems to have been adopted by many Asian governments.

4. Whatever the degree of decentralization aimed at, problems of adapting the population to new methods of production arise. It is characteristic of workers who are abruptly transplanted from rural to urban areas, particularly if (as is frequently the case in the ECAFE region) the transition is from a more or less primitive subsistence economy to a technologically more advanced exchange economy, that they lack stability, that they have no training for or experience of industrial work, and that their productivity is very low.

5. These characteristics are, in large measure, the result of their rural origin. Often under-nourished, without education, and having had very little previous contact with the outside world, the rural worker commonly uses outmoded tools and is completely ignorant of the techniques which would allow him to increase the productivity of his land. At the mercy of natural phenomena such as floods and droughts, of demographic pressure on limited areas of cultivable land or of the exactions of landlords or money-lenders, he probably has little understanding of the nature of the forces which drive him to the town. When he comes to the town he has the greatest difficulty in understanding the concepts and importance of time, quality, space and dimension current in a technical civilization, and as a result has difficulty in adapting himself to the industrial routine and discipline. He finds the rhythm of industry difficult to follow and is puzzled by the piece-meal nature of industrial work. He is in the habit of completing his work and not of interrupting it after a fixed number of hours. The effort of concentrated and prolonged attention is extremely fatiguing to him. To the above may often be added other difficulties resulting from ignorance of the official language, since the worker who has come from a tribal or rural area generally speaks a dialect. This combination of factors explains the magnitude of

the problem of adjustment and the difficulty of conveying vocational knowledge even of an elementary nature to the new arrivals. The low productivity and the lack of qualifications of the manpower are cited as justifications for maintaining wages at an extremely low level, and also help to explain why industrial production and techniques have not developed further. As there is frequently an over-abundance of manpower on the labour market, the advantages of improving the skill and qualifications of the worker are not always recognized, any more than are the advantages of improving the industrial equipment and production techniques. On the contrary, such changes may even seem detrimental since they would appear to deprive a large number of workers of their jobs.[1/]

6. These characteristics, moreover, tend to persist as a vicious circle. Lacking stability and qualifications for industrial work, these workers are difficult to assimilate; failure to assimilate them means that they continue to lack stability and industrial qualifications. The main purpose of Part 1 of this paper is to consider measures which may be adopted in the field of manpower policy with a view to breaking out of this vicious circle and converting this untrained and unorganized manpower into an adequately skilled and diversified labour force, adapted to the requirements of urban and industrial life and able to take advantage of the scope for social and economic progress which industrial development can provide. Policy measures must of course take account as fully as possible of the characteristics and requirements of the workers concerned, who include women and juveniles as well as men; some account of these characteristics and requirements is therefore given in the following paragraphs.

General Characteristics Leading to Instability, Lack of Skill and Absenteeism among Newcomers to Urban Labour Markets

7. Some of the rural inhabitants who leave their villages only go to the towns for brief periods in order to earn money which they may have few opportunities of earning in rural areas where a subsistence economy still predominates. Improvements in communications are making such movements more frequent. Most often this category of worker leaves his family behind in the village but maintains close touch with it, thus retaining

/his feeling of

1/ But c.f. paragraphs 31 and 32 below.

his feeling of belonging to the rural community. In India, for example, the greater part of the unskilled labour employed in the Bengal coal mines and in the mica mines consists of native workers who have kept up either wholly or in part their tribal way of life. Once a month, or more frequently, they return to their villages to attend festivals or look after their land. After a short period of work in an industrialized or urban zone this category of worker returns to his village in the hope that his recent small savings will enable him to take up his agricultural life with greater possibilities of success. But in many cases he soon realizes that his hopes will not be fulfilled and he returns to the town. There results a continual drifting back and forth between town and country of unstable and untrained manpower. Industry suffers from high labour turnover and such absenteeism; agriculture may suffer, particularly in areas where there is not a large labour surplus, from the sporadic absence of able-bodied cultivators; and the worker himself loses time and money on his journeys and fails to establish himself either as a peasant or as an industrial worker. A study of absenteeism undertaken in India noted that "the basic cause of absenteeism in India is the fact that the industrial worker is still part-time peasant and until he cuts his connection with the soil his attendance will be irregular and his adjustment to modern industrialism insecure".[1/]

8. Instability and absenteeism are increased by the often deplorable living conditions in the urban zones. A vast and sudden influx of workers from rural zones creates many problems: over-crowding, lack of sanitation and slums make for ill-health which is another cause of absenteeism.

9. Yet another cause of instability is the fact that since the workers who come from the rural areas are often too numerous to be absorbed into the town economy, many do not succeed in finding work or find only casual employment. Driven by circumstances to change jobs frequently, they never become fully integrated into the urban economy and many of them engage in all sorts of trades and occupations, e.g. those of boot-blacks and pedlars, requiring no real qualifications nor any

/adjustment to

1/ Summary of a statistical study of absenteeism among Indian labour which appeared in the Indian journal of statistics Sankhya, quoted by the Director-General of the International Labour Office in Report of the Director-General, op.cit., pages 66-67.

adjustment to modern techniques and conditions of work and production. Table 1 shows the high proportion of workers in certain countries, such as the Federation of Malaya and Pakistan, engaged in services as compared with the workers engaged in industry; many of the service occupations make little or no contribution to economic growth or progress, and provide good examples of the vicious circle referred to above. Because of their instability, the workers cannot acquire even the most elementary training; lacking such training this manpower cannot settle down.

Table 1

Structure of the Economically Active Population
(Distribution by Branch of Economic Activity)
(thousands)

	Agriculture, etc.[a]		Industry, etc.[b]		Services[c]	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
India, 1951	71,809	70.6	11,312	11.1	18,636	18.3
Japan, [d] 1950	17,220	48.4	9,420	26.5	8,940	25.1
" 1954	18,060	45.2	10,630	26.6	11,250	28.2
Malaya, 1947	1,228	64.5	184	9.7	489	25.7
Pakistan, 1951	17,125	76.5	1,636	7.3	3,631	16.2
Philippines, [d] 1948	4,875	71.3	739	10.8	1,227	17.9
Singapore, 1947	29	8.1	121	33.9	207	57.9

a/ Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting.

b/ Mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas, water and sanitary services.

c/ Commerce, transport, storage and communication, other services, and activities not adequately described.

d/ Population in gainful employment.

Source: Computed from ILO Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1955, Table 4.

 Far from

10. Far from improving, the situation often worsens when the ties which bound the new arrival to his native village break down and when all or part of his family comes to the town. The head of the family alone usually does not manage to provide adequately for it. As a result, other members of the family try to supplement the family income, thus encumbering to an even greater extent the occupational field of small trades and services and adding to the number of unskilled industrial workers seeking jobs. This aggravates the unemployment and under-employment situation. In addition, the conditions under which children, adolescents and very often women are employed, may tend to make for a lowering of labour standards generally and to perpetuate the unhappy economic and social situation of the rural immigrants in the urban zones. The willingness of children and adolescents to accept low rates of pay makes it more difficult for adult workers to get jobs in occupations in which juvenile labour can be utilized as a cheap substitute. In the same way, female labour in certain occupations tends to undercut male labour.

11. There are, in addition, other problems relating to the employment of children, adolescents and women which deserve special attention.

Problems relating to the Employment of Children and Adolescents

12. Children and young persons who leave the village during the years of adolescence are likely to carry with them ineradicable traces of the rural tradition. Like their parents, they will probably experience considerable difficulty in adopting new methods of work and new behaviour patterns, and will be likely to be deeply influenced by country superstition and folk-lore in their personal conduct and in their contacts with their fellow workers. Like their parents, they will probably consider themselves at a social disadvantage as compared with more sophisticated elements in the urban population. In the field of employment such young persons are likely to observe the rural tradition whereby their role in the economy is principally that of casual or seasonal workers. This will mean that they will have little comprehension of the long-term possibilities of systematic training and of promotion; and also that the duration of their service will tend to be voluntarily interrupted whenever the accumulation of earnings is sufficient to allow for several weeks or months of idleness.

13. City-born children of country people, and children brought to the city at a very early age, have a better opportunity to adapt to a metropolitan way of life. Broadly speaking, they are less dependent on their families than are adolescent immigrants for emotional security and social guidance. They are, therefore, more likely to abandon traditional customs or ways of thought.

14. While peasant children, like city children, are usually employed at an extremely early age, there is a radical difference in their conditions of work. While the former almost invariably work for their parents, or under their direct supervision, the labour of very young children in the city is hired to strangers, and the organization of their work is usually such as to exclude even indirect parental surveillance. Thus, conditions are created for the exploitation of child labour in mills, factories and workshops. Much has been written on the effects of the premature employment of young workers; here it must suffice to mention the dangers of a permanent debilitation of health, leading to a weakened and apathetic adult labour force in the next generation.

15. Two exceptions exist to the lack of parental supervision of children's employment. Many factories distribute to children - some of whom are resident in the urban neighbourhood of the factory, but many of whom come regularly from distant villages - materials, the processing or finishing of which is intended to be carried out at home. Also, in an urban society where economic pressures are so intense that many mothers are compelled to seek employment outside the home, the factory, the building site or the coal mine is often the only nursery that can be provided for small children. Such children are regularly taken to their mother's place of employment, sometimes as a matter of convenience and sometimes as unpaid helpers in the mother's work.

16. In both instances, a twofold danger is apparent. Even where labour legislation has been introduced, children may fall outside the scope of legal protection; and, furthermore, the demarcation between leisure and work tends to be obliterated, so that all the child's activities tend to centre upon his work.

/17. It is,

17. It is, however, not only in industrial undertakings and small workshops that the health of young workers is endangered. Domestic service is only one example of non-industrial employment in which children, particularly the children of peasant immigrants, are frequently underpaid and overworked.

18. Many of the city trades to which young workers are attracted - such as street trades of all kinds, and employment in taverns, cabarets and similar places of entertainment - present obvious dangers to the health and safety of young persons, and make them vulnerable to anti-social influences of every kind.

Women in the Labour Market

19. Many if not most of the women who leave the country for the town enter the labour market.[1] There are many reasons for this. As already indicated the family income is often below subsistence level because of the unemployment or under-employment of the men of the family, the low wages paid to the men, and the burden of their family responsibilities; besides children, parents and other relatives either still in the village or sharing the town living quarters may also have to be supported. Again many women are widows or separated from their husbands and must undertake alone the role of providing for their own needs and for those of their children or aged relatives. Expenditures on traditional festivals and rites and the payment of portions and dowries to sons and daughters further increase the burden on a low income. Finally, the desire of many mothers to give their children a better chance in life than they themselves have had, and particularly a better education, is another factor which drives women to undertake gainful employment.

20. It may be added that women coming from rural areas are for the most part traditionally used to sharing in the work, and by working in the fields, through handicraft activities, and in other ways,[2] to contributing to the subsistence of the family and community. It is therefore on the whole natural to them to continue this situation when they come to the towns and to contribute to the family income by undertaking remunerative work.

/21. If the female

1/ For statistics of the number of female wage-earners and salaried employees in the countries of the ECAFE region, and their distribution among the different branches of economic activity, see ILO Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1955, (Geneva, 1955), table 4.

2/ The traditional economic role of women in certain Mahommedan communities is more restricted.

21. If the female labour force in most of the countries in Asia, particularly in India and Ceylon, consists in very large measure of adult married women, of widows or of women deserted by their husbands and with family responsibilities, rather than of young girls, this phenomenon is readily understandable when considered in the light of the above circumstances and when account is taken of the custom of marrying at an early age, a practice particularly prevalent among the lower income groups. In Japan, it is true that young country girls are recruited to work for several years in the textile mills in the towns. Once the period contracted for has been terminated the girls usually no longer wish to return to the village where the conditions which drove them to seek employment in the towns are not likely to have changed. A fair proportion of these girls join the ranks of the women seeking jobs, either because of the appeal which the town holds for them, or because they hope to make a good marriage there, or simply because they wish to find employment. In the other countries in Asia, it appears to be mostly among the second generation of town-dwellers that girls, marrying at a later age, seek a job as soon as they are old enough to work.

22. The women who enter the labour market are often illiterate and have no skills or training. In seeking gainful employment they enter in various occupations into competition with men who suffer from the same deficiencies, but who benefit from various more favourable social and cultural factors. In most countries of the region women represent as yet only a fairly small minority of the workers engaged in industry. This is especially true in Pakistan. In the Philippines, however, there were in 1948 128,000 female wage-earners in manufacturing, as compared with 203,000 males and in Japan in 1954 there were 1,480,000 females as compared with 3,370,000 males. As compared with 1950, female wage-earners in manufacturing in Japan increased by 240,000, or nearly 20 per cent, while males increased by 200,000 or just over 6 per cent.[1/] Throughout the region, most of the women employed in industry are engaged on unskilled manual work or are taken on as helpers, such work being the least remunerative.

/At best

1/ ILO: Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1955, loc.cit. The figures include salaried employees as well as wage-earners.

At best they are engaged on semi-skilled work in a few fields (e.g. textiles). On the other hand they are to be found in quite large numbers in the building trades, on road construction work and other civil engineering works and among the dock labour in ports, engaged on work which requires no skill but which does exact a certain degree of physical endurance which is often unsuitable for women, particularly when one considers the conditions under which it is performed.

23. Nevertheless it would not be right to emphasize only the negative aspects of urbanization insofar as the feminine element of the labour force is concerned. If the women succeed in overcoming the material difficulties and the discouragement which characterize the first stage of their establishment in the large urban centres and which may force them to accept any kind of work which offers, somewhat better opportunities may follow. The women who have lived in towns since their earliest years or who have been born in a town usually have better chances of benefiting from these possibilities than newcomers from the rural areas, because the former are better adjusted to the conditions of urban life and because their level of education is on the average higher. The process of urbanization has brought about tertiary activities which lead to an increase in the employment possibilities open to women - in service industries and (for women with high enough qualifications) in such fields as nursing, social work, teaching and, to a certain extent, office work. Finally, it is undoubtedly true that the rapid growth of large urban centres has played an important role in the emancipation of women in Asia. Economic conditions have directed a large number of women into employment and as a result have speeded up their adjustment to modern living conditions and widened their horizons.

24. It must be admitted, however, that such over-all advantages have been purchased at an extremely high price and that the situation of most of the women who have left the countryside for the towns and have tried to obtain a livelihood by their own work remains very precarious.

/Remedial Measures

Remedial Measures in the Field of Manpower Policy

25. The low productivity and lack of qualifications of the new workers in the towns, whether men, women or juveniles, constitute obstacles not only to the improvement of the economic and social situation of the workers themselves, and of their working conditions but also to the growth of production and the economic progress of the country. It is clear that unless appropriate measures are taken to guide the flow of such manpower and to improve its quality, there is every reason to believe that this state of affairs will continue for a very long time.

The following paragraphs are devoted to measures which are being taken or planned in some of the Asian countries with a view to meeting these requirements.

1. Short-term Measures

(a) Publicity Campaigns. One of the means likely to affect directly and relatively rapidly the exodus of rural populations towards the towns is the diffusion of reliable official information concerning the real prospects of employment and the working conditions in the towns, and also the skills required for the different types of jobs available there, particularly in industry. Such publicity campaigns may have two objectives. On the one hand they can slow the rural exodus by indicating the precarious situation which will be the lot of job-seekers who are ill-prepared for working in the towns. Secondly, they can try to direct the flow of migrants towards well-defined employment fields. In both cases, however, the campaigns need to be carefully prepared and carried out and to be based on an integrated programme of measures all aiming at a rational organization of the employment market. This point will be referred to again below.

(b) Initiation into Urban Working Conditions and Accelerated Vocational Training. No matter what results are obtained with the help of publicity campaigns, other measures must be taken simultaneously to facilitate and accelerate the assimilation of peasants who, having cut themselves off from their former rural employment, are in the process of installing themselves

/in urban

in urban areas. Here again it is possible to achieve comparatively speedy results through action aimed simultaneously at stabilising the newly-arrived migrants through appropriate social measures[1] and at initiating the industrial workers coming from non-urban areas into the conditions, rhythm and skill requirements of factory work. This initiation should also include, where applicable, elementary teaching in the language in which the workers are expected to receive their orders and working instructions.

Side by side with such a systematic elementary initiation programme provided to as large a number of workers as possible, it is also desirable that accelerated vocational training courses should be given at a centre or at the factory for the benefit of those workers who show the greatest aptitude for the work. This type of training has already been put into operation in several countries in Asia. It has shown itself particularly valuable in respect of workers between the ages of 17 and 20 years who have never before received any technical training. Provided the programmes and methods are judiciously adapted to the level and the type of knowledge of the trainees, accelerated training courses of eight to ten months' duration can, in spite of illiteracy and deficiencies in fundamental education, enable the workers to acquire useful technical qualifications. If this action is to show appreciable results it must be carried out on a large scale. Moreover by its very nature such action imposes a heavy burden on the public authorities and in some cases on the heads of the undertakings also. Nevertheless this expenditure is in the long run less crippling and more productive than the financial burden which unemployment, underemployment, low productivity and the deficient level of skill of most of the workers together place on the national economy. Under the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, the ILO has assisted and is assisting a number of Asian countries in the introduction and development of this type of training.

/2. Long-term Measures

1/ In particular measures aiming at improving the welfare of the new job-seekers and their families, including measures to improve nutrition, housing and hygiene.

2 Long-term Measures

Short-term measures alone will not suffice to solve the long-term problem of underemployment and lack of qualifications of the rural population.

Among longer-term measures which may be taken by public authorities with a view to improving the productivity and the employment possibilities of all sectors of the labour force, the following would seem to be of special importance:

(a) Rural Schools. The development and reorientation of the rural primary school system is a basic condition for economic progress. By substituting school programmes providing prevocational preparation and elementary technical training, judiciously combined with a general education programme, for the traditional primary school education, it is possible to prepare the way for modernization of agricultural methods, which is a prerequisite for increasing agricultural production. At the same time such programmes provide a better basis for future employment in industrial occupations available in rural areas, as well as for possible employment in the towns. This more practical type of education is of benefit not only in less developed rural communities, but also in rural communities which have attained a more advanced stage of development. Through it, in fact, it is possible to take into account the needs of the children and young persons living and expecting to earn their livelihood in the country, while at the same time facilitating - by giving a certain degree of elementary technical knowledge - the subsequent adjustment of those who may go to live in the towns. In addition, it helps to avoid a situation which, in many countries, has resulted from transplanting into a rural milieu, without modification, the traditional primary school system directed mainly or exclusively towards a certificate or diploma. Young persons who have acquired such diplomas are inclined to look down on manual work and often swell the number of unemployed persons and of workers maladjusted to their employment.

/Insofar

Insofar as the adult rural population is concerned, the introduction of educational programmes closely combining general education and initiation into basic agricultural techniques is also to be recommended. It is today recognized that in order to allow a co-ordinated development of the national economy, action in the field of education must be directed towards all members of the rural community. Such action is particularly necessary in the case of the very poor and the less developed communities. In all cases, however, it seems desirable to combine instruction in agricultural techniques and handicraft trades with action to combat illiteracy. Such an educational programme can also bring about a general improvement in rural living conditions by providing the basis for the development of social services and improvements in hygiene and means of communication. At the present time India is putting into operation, within the scope of her Five-Year Plan, a programme of this type. It is designed to aid in solving the problems of rural life by improving agriculture through teaching the peasant how to take care of and repair simple agricultural implements and through developing the general educational system. In the same way, in Ceylon the curriculum of the domestic science schools for girls in the country regions includes domestic work, hygiene, nursing and handicrafts, as well as agriculture and other farm work.

(b) Town Schools. The flow of rural population towards urban and industrial centres increases the urgency of multiplying the number and capacity of the primary schools and the vocational training facilities available for young persons in the towns. In order that the national economy may as soon as possible have a sufficiently diverse and skilled supply of manpower, it is necessary also to adapt the curricula and the teaching and training methods used to the present conditions and needs of the children attending the schools. What has been said above concerning the rural schools is even more applicable in the case of the urban schools. Manual work and an education programme judiciously directed towards preparation for industrial techniques and the various occupations practised in towns, offer a means of equipping the children for their future employment possibilities in

/the urban areas.

the urban areas. In addition, the school is potentially a community centre which can provide information about jobs and prospects for young workers intending to take up a trade and can also become a centre of community activities and leisure time occupations, thus contributing materially towards the removal of parochial prejudices and towards the integration of village elements into a composite urban society.

Efforts to expand the urban school system need to be supported by measures to make school attendance compulsory wherever a sufficient number of schools and teachers can be provided. The effective application of legislation making school attendance compulsory is of special significance for working youth in urban areas. In the first place, experience has proved that minimum age laws have little practical meaning unless they are complemented by legislation requiring all children below the legal age of admission to employment to attend school; for in the absence of such legislation, the tendency is either for such children to accept employment outside the scope of the law - and thus to exclude themselves from redress against exploitation - or to fall into delinquent habits. A second reason is that a diminishing number of jobs are open to the illiterate; and, thirdly, some degree of education is indispensable for the acquisition of technical skills.

(c) The Development of Vocational Training Facilities in Urban Centres.
If accelerated training is indispensable for improving the skill of adult workers, this type of training must never be allowed to replace training facilities provided in vocational schools or through apprenticeship. It is only the latter which can enable provision to be made for the future needs for skilled workers of the different branches of the national economy. An important part of ILO's technical assistance programme is devoted to the establishment and development of training facilities of this kind. Efforts have in particular been concentrated on the introduction of modern apprenticeship schemes in industry, on the development of instructor training facilities and vocational schools and centres, including in some cases the supply of equipment.

/Nevertheless, in

Nevertheless, in order for these facilities to fulfil their role, their development must be organized on a very well planned and co-ordinated basis. To date this has hardly ever been the case.

The general practice in economically underdeveloped countries has been to initiate training programmes purely on an ad hoc basis, either to meet a particular emergency, such as the influx of refugees into the cities of India and Pakistan, or to meet the requirements of a particular industry or trade. In the latter instance, the principal method of instruction has been by means of apprenticeship, which theoretically offers vocational instruction in return for services within the undertaking. There is some evidence, however, that employers tend to demand too much production work from their apprentices, who continue to be paid at learner's rates and who receive no, or too little, regular or systematic training. The conditions of apprenticeship vary widely from undertaking to undertaking: in many cases wages are disproportionately low and/or are payable largely in kind, and frequently the term of apprenticeship is unspecified. With the increasing urbanization of the Asian region, there is need for apprenticeship legislation, which will not only increase the extent and improve the content of apprenticeship training, both in industry and in commerce, but also guarantee fair conditions for the apprentice during his term of training.

Free schools for vocational education are usually a comparatively late development in the vocational training pattern, and are of course costly to maintain. Nevertheless, such schools are becoming increasingly necessary. Fee-charging schools, whether they provide evening courses or courses requiring full-time attendance, may meet the needs of the small percentage of educated persons who can afford in-school instruction. But the increase in the complexity of technology and the growth of a network of primary and secondary schools need to be accompanied by a development of the vocational school system.

The development of vocational schools must not be limited only to an increase in their number and capacity. The type of training given must be closely allied to the needs of countries in the throes of economic evolution. In such a period of evolution it is likely that the greater

/number of

number of undertakings will not be in a position to set up apprenticeship systems with modern training programmes and methods. It is also likely, in most of the countries of Asia, that for many years to come the standard of education of the great mass of young persons of school-leaving age will not be high enough to permit the straightforward application of programmes and training methods which have been successfully applied in countries long since industrialized. It will therefore be necessary to develop a kind of pre-vocational education and basic vocational training relating not to highly specialized trades and occupations but to broad groups of trades. Such training, spread over one or two years, should be followed by a period of more or less advanced specialization in schools or in the undertaking.

As has been shown in the section on the problems connected with the employment of women, it is particularly important in the development of vocational training facilities not to lose sight of the needs of future women workers. Hitherto efforts in this direction have been directed mostly to training for handicraft trades traditionally carried out by women (such as sewing, weaving, and embroidery) and only sporadic attempts have been made to vary the trades taught to the women and thus to widen the employment opportunities open to them so as to include decently remunerative employment in industry and commerce. Further efforts in this direction are undoubtedly necessary.

(d) Employment Services. The possibility of influencing the exodus of rural populations towards the towns by making available to such people reliable information on employment prospects and working conditions in the towns has already been referred to. It will be necessary to create bodies capable of collecting such information, on a local or regional basis if not at the national level, and to organize systematically the dissemination of the information to the persons concerned. An employment service is often in the best position for collecting and disseminating such employment data. Today several countries of Asia are trying to give their

employment services the means necessary for developing their information and vocational guidance services. But if the employment services are able to influence the flow of peasants towards the towns by making information available to the migrants, they are also in a position to warn the competent public authorities of specially large migratory movement of peasants to the towns and to encourage the authorities to make plans for undertaking appropriate measures - public works, housing developments, etc. - to meet the situation.

It may be necessary, in addition, to supervise very closely the activities of the middlemen and other agents who undertake to bring workers to the towns and to find them employment. These middlemen sometimes exact exorbitant commissions and fees or commit other abuses when they undertake, in addition, to provide various supplementary services.

Within the employment service, it may be useful, moreover, to initiate special simplified processes which will allow the vast numbers of requests from unskilled workers seeking temporary jobs to be dealt with speedily. In India this method, which would help in a large measure to eliminate exploitation by middlemen of this kind of manpower, has been advocated by the Training and Employment Service Organization Committee. In Japan the placement of unskilled persons seeking temporary employment is an important function of the employment service and a special section of the service has been created which keeps its own statistics and records. To assist the countries of the ECAFE region to achieve these objects, technical assistance by the ILO has included projects in a number of countries on employment service organization and employment information programmes. Particular emphasis is being placed on employment information and its dissemination, as probably the most important function of the employment services at the present time.

/(e) Conditions of

(e) Conditions of Employment and Social Legislation.

Finally, the manpower which has migrated from rural areas will not be stabilised unless the workers receive adequate remuneration allowing them, without loss of security, to abandon their ties with the country and to make for themselves and their families a new life in the towns in which they are employed.

In this connection, "Labour and social legislation, with standards adapted to national conditions, has its part to play in making for an efficient and stable labour force in urban areas. There is often a very special need to provide basic forms of protection in order to prevent exploitation of newcomers from rural areas who are wholly unfamiliar with urban life and industrial work. Wage protection is always important. Child labour must be regulated. Hours limitation may be necessary in some cases or for some groups. Payment for weekly rest, provided the worker has been present during the six preceding days, and paid holidays may encourage workers to remain in employment and often help to reduce absenteeism. Industrial welfare services may be particularly important where general social services do not or are not well developed. Labour inspection has a highly significant role to play in preventing the abuses so often associated with the early stages of industrialization and in drawing attention to conditions requiring improvement as development advances. Competent labour administrators can often anticipate the problems likely to arise and do much to see that their solution is sought in good time."[1]

/Part II

1/ ILO : Report of the Director-General, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

Part II - PROBLEMS OF PRODUCTIVITY AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY

26. Measures thus far discussed, important as they are, aim primarily at improving the qualifications and employment opportunities open to workers within a given economic framework. Though they may make important contributions to economic growth and progress, this is not their primary objective. Even if workers had a more settled mode of life and a higher level of skill, and even if employment services in the region were more highly developed than they are, poverty and insecurity for many, if not most, workers in the region would continue to pose most urgent problems at present levels of economic development. Problems of economic development, of productivity improvement and of employment policy derive no small part of their urgency precisely from the rapid growth of urban populations. It is no part of the purpose of this paper to attempt to compare rural and urban standards of living. Statistical comparisons frequently suggest that the real incomes of urban workers, miserably low as they commonly are, are typically higher than those of rural workers. This may be so. But the adequacy of incomes must be judged not in absolute terms but in relation to needs and wants. Urbanization creates new wants - for housing, education and other social services as well as for a wide range of consumers' goods. The maintenance of an urban family at a minimum level of decent subsistence makes greater demands upon the resources of the community than does the maintenance of a rural family at a corresponding level. Not the least important aspect of this problem is the need for providing for urban workers effective new forms of security to replace those more primitive arrangements in rural communities which, while never intended to deal with the risks and hazards of a modern economy, do for the most part ensure that while there is food nobody starves.

/27. If urbanization

27. If urbanization is not to create new wants more rapidly than industrialization creates the means for satisfying them, it is therefore imperative that urbanization should be accompanied by a rapid growth in industrial productivity and employment. Limitations of space make it impossible in this paper to discuss problems of employment policy except insofar as they are related to problems of raising productivity. Aspects of employment policy which are not discussed here, notably the question of what can be done to mobilize domestic savings and foreign sources of capital with a view to providing additional employment opportunities, are of course of great importance in connection with the problems of urbanization.1/

Productivity and Economic Development

28. No comprehensive treatment of this enormous subject can be attempted in this paper. In the following paragraphs attention is concentrated upon certain aspects of this subject which fall within the field of competence of the ILO and in respect of which it has acquired a certain experience through its technical assistance programme - notably problems confronting managements and workers within individual plants.2/

/29. The rationale

1/ See UNITED NATIONS: Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries (New York, 1951) and ILO: Action Against Unemployment (Geneva, 1950), Chapter VII. Reference may also be made to a forthcoming article in the International Labour Review which will discuss the role of employment policy in economic development.

2/ For fuller discussions of some of the matters dealt with in the following paragraphs reference may be made to a Note on the Functions and Nature of Productivity Programmes, prepared by the ILO for the first meeting of the Working Party on Economic Development and Planning of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (Oct.-Nov. 1955), and to a working paper on The Role of Labour in Programmes for Increasing Productivity and Measures Needed to Safeguard the Interests of Workers (Document E/2240, 22 may 1953) prepared by the ILO for the 16th Session of the Economic and Social Council.

29. The rationale of increasing productivity is that if the amounts of capital, materials and labour of various skills used up in the production of a given volume of output can be reduced, the resources thus saved can be applied to the production of additional goods and services; insofar as the savings are made in respect of capital and raw materials, increased productivity has the same effect as capital formation through the limitation of consumption. But whereas the latter form of capital formation normally involves a sacrifice on the part of consumers (which is specially important at the low levels of income in Asia and the Far East), the former method usually does not.

30. The general effect of improved productitivy thus is the alleviation of shortages in order th achieve larger output and income. This should be widely distributed throughout the community in the form of higher earnings, lower prices and/or improved working conditions. Particularly when the utilization of manpower is limited by lack of capital (as it is in Asia and the Far East), increased productitiby is also a means of providing new employment opportunities.

31. In countries with surplus labour, the principal contribution of improved productivity to economic development has to do with the utilization of capital equipment which, when properly employed, can be utilized (a) more intensively, (b) over a long period, and (c) with a minimum of avoidable waste of materials and human skill and effort. Since the actual utilization of the nation's resources is largely in the hands of public and private managers, the achievement of these objectives requires, in the first place, improved methods and standards of management. The introduction and diffusion of sound principles of modern management and industrial engineering are main objectives of programmes to raise productitivy. Relevant techniques include the establishment of an appropriate organizational and personnel structure of the firm or plant, adequate production planning and control, proper methods and conditions of work, and a system of human

/relations and

relations and incentives calculated to ensure that plans and prescriptions are properly carried out by all concerned. Productivity is not simply a matter of techniques but also a question of mentality. Successful application of the techniques depends not only on knowledge of their existence but just as much on attitudes favourable to the raising of performance at all levels of the organization, among management as well as in the supervisory and operative ranks.

32. It is felt that this approach contains a large part of the answer to an objection which is sometimes encountered in Asian countries, namely, that in over-populated areas there is not much room for productivity improvement because higher productivity would entail further aggravation of an already serious unemployment problem. This comment would be valid if higher productivity were to be achieved solely or mainly by reducing the amount of labour needed to produce each unit of output. Labour productivity in this sense is a widely used statistical concept which, provided there is full employment of labour, serves the purpose of measuring approximately the effectiveness of the production process as a whole. When there is a high level of employment, as in industrially advanced countries, there is likely to be some correlation between output per man-hour and the over-all effectiveness of production. But even in countries where there are no problems of structural unemployment the actual improvement of productivity is dependent on measures to improve the utilization of capital equipment and raw materials at least as much as on the introduction of labour-saving techniques. In Asian countries, it is necessary to emphasise the utilization of capital-saving techniques; this, however, is largely a matter of emphasis. It does not fundamentally affect the general applicability of modern methods of industrial engineering also in these countries.

33. If widespread unemployment and underemployment exist, a reduction in labour requirements in current production does not normally constitute any substantial economic advantage, unless the labour saved is of a type which is in scarce supply. It is recognized that to the entrepreneur a reduction in wage costs will be as advantageous as any other cost reduction.

/But for the

But for the community as a whole a reduction in the demand for and employment of labour for which there are no effective alternative uses is of no economic advantage[1] and may involve great hardship for many people and serious strain in the social fabric as a whole. The emphasis in Asian countries should be on measures carried out in agreement between management and labour, with or without some form of government encouragement, to enable industry to improve productivity through better utilization of scarce resources, while avoiding economically doubtful and socially harmful reductions in labour requirements. As indicated below, the scope for productivity improvement work along these lines is quite substantial.

34. The place of productivity programmes within a general framework of planning and policies for economic development might be defined as follows: first, although productivity improvement is not dependent on the existence of a comprehensive plan for economic development, its contributions may be larger if there is such a plan. The programme can then be linked to specific targets in respect of the production of particular commodities, goods or services, and may be directed specifically at an increase in output intended to overcome bottlenecks in manufacturing output in large-scale as well as small-scale industries, transport (harbours, railways, etc.), mining or agriculture.

35. The question arises as to what quantitative contributions programmes to raise productivity may be expected to make towards an increase in production. Since relatively little work has been undertaken so far in this field in the ECAFE region, it is impossible to give any global estimate. In a recent case it proved possible to increase the output in an Asian textile spinning plant within a few weeks and without any capital investment by as much as 30 per cent. In certain operations in Asian engineering works, much larger percentage increases have been achieved.

/36. In general,

1/ Except to the extent that it reduces the requirements of scarce resources such as managerial skills and factory or office accommodation.

36. In general, observations made by ILO productivity experts in India, Pakistan and in certain countries in the Near and Middle East suggest that in a large proportion of manufacturing industries very substantial increases could be made in the life and effective working time of expensive equipment, and that the degree of waste in the physical effort of workers, in materials and in deficient work could be reduced considerably. It is likely that the capacity of existing transport facilities, which in many cases are bottle-necks holding up regional development, could be significantly raised if better use were made of available plant, rolling stock etc., and if equipment were more carefully handled and maintained.

37. It would be useful to collect on a systematic basis information regarding the present state of productivity in a few important sectors of Asian industry and the scope for its improvement. To this end it would be necessary to establish standards of performance which could be reasonably attained in the particular circumstances of the firms or industries investigated, and to compare actual performance with these standards. The measurement of performance should be concentrated on capital productivity rather than on output per man-hour. ILO productivity missions have made studies in a number of plants of the effectiveness with which machines and other equipment are utilised and have found such studies to be of assistance in their work. International comparisons of productivity between industries which differ in many economic and technical respects are not likely to produce an adequate return for the effort invested in such investigations.

38. Of the many instruments which may be used in order to raise productivity, the most important in Asian countries maybe the development, with government aid, of educational and consulting facilities as described in the paragraphs below. In addition, however, it maybe worth while to explore the possibility of taking certain measures to provide an incentive for the adoption of better management techniques, for example, by providing that firms submitting evidence of an improved or high level of performance should be given preferential treatment in matters over which the government has some measure of control (credit, import licences, etc.).

/Nature and

Nature and Cost of Productivity Programmes

39. As mentioned above, a main objective of productivity programmes is the introduction and diffusion of modern management and industrial engineering techniques. The main phases in which this objective may be attained are (a) demonstration to labour and management of the mutual advantages and practical possibilities of improving productivity through the application of such techniques, (b) provision of training facilities and of consulting services in order to meet the demand for professional skills in the field of productivity created in the first phase. ILO technical assistance projects in the field of productivity are usually shaped in accordance with this basic pattern.

40. It is important to note that productivity work is more fruitful if carried out in response to and in accordance with felt needs. Also, prefabricated courses are less effective than programmes carefully adapted to special needs developed in particular industries or areas after management and labour have been convinced, mainly through practical demonstrations, of the need for and possibilities of improvement.

41. Both demonstration and the development of training and consulting services require a nucleus of highly qualified personnel. This, plus a fairly liberal investment in instructional material (literature, films, etc.), are the main items of cost involved in productivity programmes. They should normally yield a high return, provided the work is undertaken on a broad front and, in view of the different interests involved, with a good deal of patience and tact.

42. While a successful productivity programme might soon become financially self-supporting, government financial aid is usually needed in the initial stages, when management and labour still have to be convinced of the mutual advantages of higher productivity. The technical skills required for the initiation of productivity programmes may be obtained by way of international technical assistance. Such assistance is being given

/ by the

by the ILO to a number of countries under the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme.

43. The organization required for the training of local personnel depends, of course, on national and industrial conditions. More advanced education may be given at the university level (for those holding or intended for responsible posts in industry) through the introduction of curricula in industrial engineering and business administration for engineers, industrial economists and other managerial personnel. Outside the regular teaching programmes of universities, technical colleges etc., courses may be organized for high and medium rank non-graduates in industry. Training facilities will usually also be needed for trade union personnel, for supervisors and for technicians specializing in particular subjects such as work study, rate fixing, etc. A special problem is that of small-scale industries; here, readily accessible training facilities (i.e., facilities suitably located geographically and adjusted to the special needs of the small entrepreneur) as well as reliable and cheap consulting services are required.

44. In several European countries it has been found useful to establish joint organizations, with employers' and labour participation and government support, to organize productivity campaigns; to help labour and management in finding a common basis and interest in higher productivity; to promote the provision of educational and training facilities on the basis of consultation between industry, universities and schools; if necessary, to conduct certain courses and, in certain cases, to provide direct consulting services to individual firms or industries. Briefly, such institutions, often called "Productivity Centres", stimulate the drive to increase productivity and coordinate the work of existing institutions and organizations whose activities are relevant to higher productivity. The ILO has assisted in the establishment and provided the initial staff for similar institutions in a number of underdeveloped countries.

/ The Role of

The Role of Workers in Productivity Programmes

45. As has been suggested above, programmes to raise productivity will make little headway without the support and co-operation of workers. It is true that when workers are poor, weak, ignorant and apathetic or even hostile, it may be possible by subjecting them to various pressures to push them a certain distance along the road to higher productivity - but only by working against a heavy tide of active or passive resistance which may in time have fatal results. If the co-operation of workers can be secured, so that managements and governments are working with the tide and not against it, the same amount of effort can lead to incomparably greater results. The only honest and effective way to secure the co-operation of workers is to ensure that they receive a fair share of the benefits of higher productivity.[1/] This is necessary not only as a means of securing the co-operation of workers; it is also an end in itself. Out of the savings in costs yielded by more efficient methods of production it is possible to pay higher wages and still have a margin in hand which can be used for new capital investment or for reducing prices to consumers. It is also possible, (a) by giving priority to efforts to raise productivity in those sectors of the economy where additional output cannot merely be absorbed but is required in order to provide additional employment opportunities elsewhere, (b) by placing the emphasis on developing managerial skills and on saving scarce capital and materials rather than labour, and (c) by taking trouble to reabsorb displaced workers in other plant departments which are expanding or where vacancies arise as a result of normal labour turnover, which is very high in most Asian countries, to go a long way towards meeting the natural fear of workers that higher productivity will lead to unemployment.

46. Other requirements for encouraging the co-operation of workers in programmes to raise productivity and for safeguarding their interests include explanations and consultations with workers' leaders.

/ 47. The least

1/ See ILO: Higher Productivity in Manufacturing Industries (Geneva, 1954), pp. 24-31.

47. The least that management can do is to make sure that workers and their representatives are given adequate information about the firm in which they work, about any changes which management proposes to introduce, and especially about those aspects of such changes which are of direct interest to the workers (effects on conditions of work and employment, etc.). The reasons for such changes need to be explained in terms suitable to the understanding and level of education of the workers.

48. One-way communication, however, is not joint consultation. It suffers from the disadvantages, firstly, that information provided is not always understood unless it is discussed and misunderstandings are cleared up, and secondly, that the workers are merely informed of what is going on without being given any opportunity to formulate views and comments. There is a growing realization that channels of communication, if they are to serve their purpose effectively, must carry two-way traffic, orders and explanations going down the ranks while information, grievances and opinions come back by some agreed procedure.

49. Individual workers can be given further opportunities for self-expression and participation by means of suggestion schemes. An ILO Meeting of Experts on Productivity in Manufacturing Industries reported that -

> The knowledge and experience which workers have of actual working conditions, of materials, equipment and handling, are of great value. Full advantage should be taken of this knowledge and experience. Favourable consideration should be given to the institution of suggestion schemes under which suitable payments are made, having a reasonable relation to the benefit accruing to the undertaking as a result of suggestions received. Valuable results have been obtained by associating suggestion schemes with programmes for training workers in methods of increasing productivity and by encouraging them to formulate suggestions on specified points. 1/

50. Another form of worker participation in measures to raise productivity to which growing attention has been given in recent years is that workers'

/ representatives

1/ ILO Higher Productivity in Manufacturing Industries, op. cit. p. 187.

representatives may be given the opportunity to participate in the technical processes of work study and rate fixing. This will be discussed at greater length below.

51. These kinds of co-operation do not necessarily require the setting up of formal joint machinery. The establishment of such machinery may, however, be the best way of ensuring regular two-way communication, handling suggestion schemes, and developing other forms of co-operation. In many countries there has been in recent years a remarkable growth of special machinery - works committees or councils, joint production committees, labour-management committees - for consultation and co-operation between workers and management in the undertaking.[1/]

52. Those who believe that participation in machinery of this kind, while possibly desirable for workers in highly developed countries, is beyond the capacity of workers in under-developed countries, are apt to overlook the educative possibilities of such participation. There is no better way of helping workers' leaders to acquire an understanding of administrative problems and a realistic and responsible outlook than by enabling them to examine jointly with management, and with full knowledge of the essential facts, the real problems confronting the undertaking in which they work. There is an urgent need in the countries of the ECAFE region to increase the number of workers possessing the training in administrative problems and the qualities of leadership which can be acquired through such participation and through workers' education.

53. While labour-management consultation and co-operation are desirable in connection with a wide variety of problems associated with increasing productivity - such as the innovations to be introduced, how they are to be applied, and procedures for dealing with problems of redundancy and regrading and for sharing the benefits of higher productivity - they are nowhere more essential than in connection with problems of working conditions and workloads.

/ 54. Many workers

1/ See ILO Co-operation in Industry, Geneva, 1951. A number of countries have requested and received technical assistance from the ILO in connection with industrial relations.

54. Many workers regard measures to raise productivity with apprehension, not only because of fears of unemployment, but because they tend to identify such measures to speed up work and increase workloads. This identification, for which faulty application by some managements of techniques to raise productivity must be held partly responsible, is most unfortunate, for it is not primarily by calling upon workers to make greater efforts that productivity can be increased. If the productivity of labour in United States industry is two or three times as high as in Europe, nobody imagines that this means that American workers work two or three times as hard as European workers.

55. A reasonable employer will not wish to get more than a fair day's work out of his workers, and it will not be in his long-term interests to try to do so. What constitutes a fair day's work is not, it is true, always easy to establish, especially when methods of production are changing. Techniques of work measurement are, however, now available which, especially for repetitive work, do make it possible to reduce to fairly narrow limits differences of opinion as to the amount of work that can normally be done in a given time. The attitudes of workers and trade unions towards time study and other techniques of work measurement are undoubtedly coloured by the fact that exaggerated claims have sometimes been made regarding the accuracy of these techniques, which have, moreover, sometimes been applied in a slipshod or even dishonest manner. Yet -

> Time study, applied fairly and correctly under joint consultation, not only protects the worker but shows up inefficiencies in management and techniques and is an essential aid to modern methods of costing. 1/

56. It is, however, of the greatest importance that workers' representatives should have the opportunity to question and check time studies, especially if there is any risk that workers may be called on to work at a pace which causes undue fatigue.

/ 57. One obvious

1/ Anglo-American Council on Productivity: Internal Combustion Engines, London, 1950, p. 49.

57. One obvious difficulty is that this requires technical qualifications which the ordinary workers' representative, even in highly developed countries and still more in under-developed countries, does not possess. Whence the importance attached, in ILO technical assistance missions, to the training of workers' representatives, along with management officials, in techniques of work study.

58. Effective joint consultation, of course, pre-supposes a certain measure of stability in the labour force attached to individual undertakings. For reasons examined in the first part of this paper many undertakings which offer wage-earning employment in the ECAFE region rely largely upon migratory workers who retain their links with their villages and return to them after spells of wage-earning employment. This, of course, is not always a matter of policy or deliberate choice; it is often the only way to get labour. The employing concerns do, however, normally have a certain scope for policy decisions. They may be content to continue to rely on migratory labour, or they may make deliberate efforts to retain a larger nucleus of permanent workers by providing opportunities for training and advancement, and facilities for workers' families, including housing, education for children etc. Insofar as reliance upon migratory labour is a matter of deliberate policy it may be supported on the grounds that the transition for the worker is thus rendered less sharp and painful, that his traditional social relationships continue to provide security, that he can combine seasonal work on the land with other work in the off-season, in short that his whole way of life is not suddenly disrupted. Yet migratory labour is not only inefficient on account of the high labour turnover and the need continously to recruit and train new workers. The worker, shuttling back and forth between two modes of life, may in fact make a satisfactory adjustment to neither. He can certainly acquire little or no interest in increasing productivity in the undertaking in which he works. And the expectation that he will not stay discourages efforts to train him for work which might give him such an interest. There may be no practicable alternative for many years to come to

/ a continued

a continued widespread reliance upon migratory labour in many countries of the region. But there is strong support for the view that, in general, this should be no more than a transitional phase in a country's economic development,[1] and that it should be an aim of policy, on the part both of governments and managements, to provide conditions and inducements which will attract a permanent and stable labour force to undertakings in the wage-earning sector of the economy.[2]

59. Effective co-operation in programmes to raise productivity also requires a certain minimum of general education on the part of workers. This is necessary before workers can begin to think in terms of the concepts, and respond to the incentives and inducements, associated with higher productivity. It is necessary if they are to be able to recognize and defend their own interests in programmes for raising productivity. It is necessary also as a basis for any but the most elementary vocational training.

60. Finally, without the strength and cohesion which a free and strong trade union movement gives them, workers can have no assurance that they will receive a fair share of the benefits of higher productivity. Moreover, experience in highly developed countries has demonstrated that trade union

/ leaders

1/ Save perhaps to the extent that unavoidable seasonality in agricultural employment may necessitate the continuance of some seasonal migratory movements. The extent to which such migratory movements may continue to be necessary will depend, among other things, upon how far it may prove possible to establish or develop rural industries providing off-season employment.

2/ Cf Wilbert E. Moore: Industrialization and Labour, Cornell University Press, 1951, p. 118: "The assumption, in India, Africa and elsewhere, that the urban labourer remains attached to his village is itself a handicap to the development of policies respecting urban conditions. The responsibility for permanent living quarters, sanitary standards, and elementary economic security has been left to the native villages. This had had the dual effect of slowing economic transition and of reducing the likelihood that the worker will be positively orientated toward the new form of economic activity."

leaders, if they are themselves convinced of the importance of higher productivity in the interests of those whom they represent, can play an indispensable role in educating other workers to accept changes which would otherwise appear to be unacceptable.

61. A free and strong trade union movement can only arise as a spontaneous growth, which takes time and normally requires some degree of industrial development. This growth can, however, be facilitated or hampered by the policies of governments and managements. Obstacles to sound trade union organization are greatest among the ignorant and among migratory workers. Education and efforts to stabilize the labour force favour the growth of trade unionism. The enactment and enforcement of appropriate legislation is also of the highest importance.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

62. (a) It is characteristic of workers who are abruptly transplanted from rural to urban areas, particularly if (as is frequently the case in the ECAFE region) the transition is from a more or less primitive subsistence economy to a technologically more advanced exchange economy, that they lack stability, that they have difficulty in adapting themselves to urban conditions, that they have no training for or experience of industrial work, and that their productivity is very low.

(b) The conditions in which they are housed, and the social services available in the towns, are usually very inadequate, and there is usually a surplus of unskilled labour in urban labour markets.

(c) Policy measures must take account as fully as possible of the characteristics and requirements of the male and female workers concerned, and of the special requirements of juveniles.

(d) Various measures in the field of manpower policy may contribute towards a solution of the problems discussed. Short-term measures include arrangements for diffusing in rural areas accurate information concerning living and working conditions and employment prospects in the towns, and the provision of facilities for accelerated vocational training for workers who come to the towns. Longer-term measures include (i) expansion of the rural and urban school systems and a re-orientation of school curricula, with greater emphasis on practical vocational

/ or pre-

or pre-vocational training, so as to equip children better for the conditions which will confront them in urban labour markets; (ii) the development of vocational training facilities in urban centres; (iii) extension of the activities of employment services; and (iv) regulation of conditions of employment through the adoption and enforcement of appropriate social legislation.

(e) If urbanization is not to create new wants more rapidly than industrialization creates the means for satisfying them, it is imperative that urbanization should be accompanied by a rapid growth in industrial productivity and employment. Measures in the field of manpower policy therefore need to be devised and applied as integral parts of more general policies aiming at economic development and higher levels of productivity and employment.

(f) There is considerable scope for improved utilization of resources in existing and newly developed industries in under-developed countries through the application of modern methods of management.

(g) Improved productivity can be made to contribute to capital formation and to the expansion of employment opportunities.

(h) Since higher productivity has a direct impact on and depends on the support of both labour and management, productivity programmes should, in the first stage, seek to secure the interest and support a common basis for mutually advantageous action.

(i) Secondly, productivity programmes should be instrumental in providing a broad range of educational and consulting services.

(j) Joint "Productivity Centres", with government support, can usefully serve as focal points for the organization and execution of productivity programmes.

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL

GENERAL

UNESCO/SS/CONF.URB/7
E/CN.11/URB/7
6 July 1956

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

JOINT UN/UNESCO SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION IN THE ECAFE REGION

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, in co-operation with the International Labour Office

8-18 August 1956
Bangkok, Thailand

HUMAN AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION: EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION ON FAMILY LIFE IN THE ECAFE REGION

Prepared by

the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs

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I. INTRODUCTION

Modern urbanization is not a phenomenon that can be considered in isolation. It is part of a vast dynamic process that has many causes and varied aspects. It is intimately connected with economic development in general and with industrialization in particular. In the West, urbanization was followed and accompanied by, and related to, the end of feudalism, technological innovation, huge increases in population, religious upheavals, the spread of education, the development of cheap, fast and safe transportation, and many other far-reaching economic, social, scientific and cultural changes. The industrial revolution, encompassing this entire complex of innovation and change was a long drawn-out process, the length of which must not be obscured by concentration on a few of the apparent climaxes.

In Asia all these factors have been at work, to differing extents perhaps in the various countries, and in many of them an important additional influence has played a role in changing the social and economic fabric of society - foreign rule. The colonial powers injected into the old society not only different ideas and values, but often imposed political structures and economic demands that affected immediately much of the life of the Asian countries and indirectly influenced almost every aspect of economic, social and even personal relationships.[1]

/There are

1/ UNESCO, "Problèmes de désorganisation sociale liés a l'industrialisation et à l'urbanisation dans les pays en cours de développement économique rapide", Paper presented to the First United Nations World Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, 1955. (Document No. A/CONF.6/c.3/L.2); Norton S. Ginsberg, "The Great City in Southeast Asia", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. IX, No.5, March 1955, p. 458; Avabai B. Wadia, "Some Aspects of Family Welfare in India", Marriage and Family Living, Vol. XVII, No.3, August 1955, p. 226. Bert F. Hoselitz, "The City, the Factory, and Economic Growth", American Economic Review, Vol. XLV, No.2, May 1955, p. 167. An altogether different phenomenon is the fact that many of the large Asian cities, accounting for much of the urbanization of a number of countries, were populated by immigrants from other Asian countries. Burma, Indonesia and Malaya, in parciubr, received influxes of Indian and Chinese immigrants. Large numbers of them settled in cities. See, "International Migrations in the Far East during Recent Times - The Countries of Immigration", United Nations, Population Bulletin, No.2, October 1952, pp. 29, 36, 40; Norton S. Ginsberg, op.cit., p. 459; Eunice Cooper, "Urbanization in Malaya", Population Studies, Vol. V, No. 2, November 1951, pp. 117-131.

There are thus two reasons for not attempting to view urbanization, or economic development as a whole, in Asia as merely a repetition, some centuries later, of a process which the West has undergone. Much of the urbanization that occurred in Asia in the past was not, as in Europe, an expression of economic growth and re-orientation, but rather an expression of foreign commercial, political and administrative, and military interests.1/ Secondly, the difference in timing is of vital importance. There is no reason

> "...to assume that the pattern of development will necessarily - or desirably - be the one followed by the West. Indeed, the situation is quite different if only for the reason that Western development has already taken place and the present end-products of this development are clearly evident. Improvements - in sanitation, education, communications, labour policy, social services, etc. - that developed in a slow and more or less experimental fashion in Western countries, are being deliberately taken over in their end-form in South and Southeast Asia, while there is at the same time a conscious effort to avoid the mistakes ..." 2/

The time lag, potentially of great value, does however present some disadvantages. The main one perhaps is that vast population increases have preceded economic development. The sheer magnitude of the populations undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization multiplies and complicates the social consequences of economic development.3/

/The analysis

1/ See D.W. Fryer, "The 'Million City' in Southeast Asia", Geographical Review, Vol. XLIII, No. 4, October 1953, p. 475, and works cited in "Aspects of Urbanization in ECAFE countries", Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East, Vol. IV, No.1, May 1953, p. 4.

2/ United Nations, Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, (Document No. E/CN.5/267/Rev.1) p. 180.

3/ "The population of Great Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century - that is, at the central point of western industrialization - was hardly more than three per cent of the present population of India alone". United Nations, Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-developed Countries, (Document No. E/2670, Sales No. 1955.II.B.1), p. 119.

The analysis of the effects of urbanization on family life, or the social structure in general, cannot therefore be simply derived from analogy. The task is further complicated by the fact that the region is a vast one comprising many different peoples, cultures, religions and types of social organizations. Although urbanization is proceeding in every country of the area - but by no means at the same rate - it would be misleading to regard its effects as the same everywhere. Even within a country such as India regional and even local differences are very great, not so much in the manner in which towns grow but in the way in which old patterns - particularly of family life - are being adapted, transformed or even destroyed.

Of all these difficulties, the one presenting the greatest complexity is probably the set of circumstances first mentioned relating to the many other facets of the process of economic development. The effect of urbanization on family life cannot be isolated and weighed or assessed in some simple way. A complex of changes is involved, of which urbanization is only one aspect or expression. The relationship of urbanization to family life is not one of simple cause and effect, but is rather an intricate inter-relationship. The factors that make for urbanization, such as economic development, cultural change and so on, also affect the family directly - even where the great majority of families take no part themselves in the process of urbanization. Moreover, even where there is direct inter-action between urbanization and changes in family life, the causal relationship functions in both directions. That is to say, the evolution in types of family structure may be such as to promote or to retard urbanization. It has been suggested, for instance, that the strength or weakness of the institution of the traditional extended family affects the geographical mobility of the overwhelmingly rural population. Restricted mobility resulting from this institution could account for a relatively slow growth of cities in certain countries.

/Some aspects

Some aspects of urbanization lend themselves to study and analysis on a country-wide basis. This is probably true of the assessment of some demographic consequences of urbanization. National population censuses, where they exist, can yield information on the proportion of the population living in towns, and on the sex and age composition of the urban and rural populations. If censuses are taken periodically, additional information on such matters as the rate of growth of the urban population, the volume of internal migration, etc., may be obtained. A summary of demographic information on this subject is presented in another paper.[1/]

The effect of urbanization on family life, however, is a subject for which it is much more difficult to obtain statistical or other factual data. Apart from the impressions of observers, only a relatively small number of limited, local studies are available. There is great danger in drawing conclusions from such studies, covering an infinitesimal part of Asia's population, and applying them to the area as a whole.

In this paper, therefore, no attempt will be made to draw over-all conclusions affecting the area or family life in its entirety, nor will generalizations be made to which very many exceptions would have to apply. Furthermore, no attempt will be made to give detailed descriptions of the various types of family structures that are to be found in the countries of the area or in their constituent parts. A number of general treatises on the subject exist.

/With the

1/ Demographic Aspects of Urbanization in the ECAFE Region.

With the exception of Japan, the paper attempts to cover the entire ECAFE region. It was felt that in view of the different conditions prevailing in that country, no consideration should be given here to the effects of urbanization on Japanese family life.[1/]

II. THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY

The structure of the family has been and continues to be, diverse in the various countries of Asia. In the two largest countries, China and India, the prevailing family is an extended or joint one, encompassing a number of successive generations, and with a strong, generally patriarchal, head. The simple conjugal family - parents and unmarried children - is however regarded as prevalent in some countries of the region, particularly Indonesia and Thailand, and intermediate types - including one or more married children and other relatives - are found elsewhere, as in the Philippines and in Japan.

The functions of the family, perhaps even more so than its structure, reflect the social and economic life of the country in which it is found. In pre-industrial societies, and in countries only starting the process of industrialization, the family is a social and an economic unit. Socially, the welfare of the aged and the handicapped, educational functions and the

/care of the

1/ Social aspects of urbanization in Japan are treated in: Irene B. Taeuber, "Family, Migration and Industrialization", American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, No. 2, April 1951, pp. 149-157; John C. Pelzel, "Some Social Factors bearing upon Japanese Population", American Sociological Review, Vol.15, No. 1, Feb. 1950, pp. 20-25; Arthur F. Raper, "Some Recent Changes in Japanese Village Life", Rural Sociology, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1951, pp. 4-5; Kizaemon Ariga, "The Family in Japan", Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 16, No.4, Nov. 1954, pp. 362-368.

care of the sick, the performance of certain religious rites, and many other duties are a family responsibility. At the same time, the family is a productive unit, undertaking collectively the various activities, mainly in agriculture and handicrafts, that support all its members.[1/] In a money economy, where income is increasingly derived from employment for wages, or the sale of services or commodities for cash, the earning of a livelihood tends to become a responsibility not of the whole family, but of individuals. With the loss of this fundamental economic function, other roles of the family may also be affected. It becomes increasingly typical for married couples to set up house for themselves, often at considerable distances from the wife's and husband's original homes. Parents and parents-in-law, unmarried and widowed brothers and sisters, and uncles and aunts tend to be excluded more and more from the family household.

Urbanization usually accelerates and accentuates the change. Housing problems in the towns limit the number of family members who can live together; wage employment is the antithesis of family production. The smaller urban family thus loses its old self-sufficiency. It must rely increasingly on help and support from outside the family circle. This reliance on the outside applies not only to the economic field, in economic activity, but to the social field. The town-dwellers' family group can no longer cope with the consequences of unemployment, sickness and old age. It may not be able to meet all the requirements of child care. Many non-material, social functions of the family also disappear or at least shrink in importance. Education, entertainment and the many emotional satisfactions derived from religious ritual and large family gatherings for special events must either be provided by outside associations or not at all. This limitation in the functions of the

/family goes

1/ "Rural families come close to being self-sufficient economic units". V. Thamavit and R. Golden, "The Family in Thailand", Marriage and Family Living. Vol. 16, No. 4, Nov. 1954, p. 387.

family goes hand-in-hand with a reduction in its extent, in the number of relatives who are considered a part of it. It follows that the change is greatest wherever the family was most extensive in size and most inclusive in functions.

The above are general trends in family life noted during the process of urbanization in various parts of the world. The limited information available on urbanization in the Asian countries under question suggests that these observations are probably valid for these countries as well.

III. RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS

Rural-urban migration, the mechanism that brings about urbanization, is a phenomenon that can be described more easily in its results than in its operation. The volume of the movement, the characteristics of the persons constituting it and the many features on which information is required for all types of social, demographic and economic analysis, are very imperfectly known even in highly advanced industrial countries with developed statistical and research services. In the so-called economically under-developed countries information is very scanty and often non-existent.[1/]

In studying the social implications of rural-urban migratory movements, particularly their effects on family life, this absence of data is a severe handicap, making it difficult to judge the extent of the impact of many factors. The migratory increase in the population

/of towns

1/ United Nations, Proceedings of the World Population Conference, Summary Report, New York, 1955 (Sales No. 1955.XIII.8), p. 92.

of towns over a period is a net figure, the result of far larger numbers of people moving into and from towns. The over-all effect on family life of urbanization in a country, a cultural group or a large region obviously depends on the number of people, or the number of families, involved in the process. It is precisely this point on which knowledge is most conspicuously lacking.

The causes of rural-urban migration, the motives that prompt the villager to go to the town, are a subject of speculation and isolated studies on the part of sociologists and economists. Some studies emphasize the attracting features of urban life, industrial occupations and so on. Others stress the repelling features of village destitution and the pressure of population on land. This pressure manifests itself in may ways, including excessive under-employment, aggravated burdens of debt and increased needs for major expenditures. Although the weight of opinion seems to be in favour of the latter view - that migration to the towns in largely a flight from rural poverty - a number of studies on the social status and the financial situation of recent arrivals in towns indicate that it is not always the poorest villagers who take part in the movement.1/

It would appear in any case that the advantages and disadvantages of urban and rural life in the underdeveloped countries are relative, the choice for an individual or a family being one of the apparently lesser evils.

The Family Character of Rural-urban Migration and its Permanence

The question of how much of the movement to the cities and towns is permanent - of whether many of the new urban dwellers intend, after periods of varying length, to return to their former rural habitat - is clearly linked to the family composition of the migrant streams. This again is a subject on which but little information exists, and what there is does not give a single or a clear answer. The age and sex composition of urban populations is only one

/indicator

1/ For example, Noel P. Gist, Selective Migration in Urban South India, paper presented at the World Population Conference, 1954, United Nations document E/CONF.13/357, p.9; E. Eames, "Some aspects of urban migration from a village in North Central India", The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Sept.-Nov. 1954, p. 13.

indicator of the position. In most cases in the region it shows the predominance of younger males, bachelors and married men separated either temporarily or permanently from their families. The permanence or not of the separation is a critical factor in the effect of urbanization on family life but hardly, if ever, apparent from demographic data. There is much evidence, however, that, at least in the initial stages of urbanization, this separation tends to be both frequent and temporary. "In most less developed countries", it has been found, "there is a constant flux of workers between industrial employment in towns and traditional agriculture in their home villages. They may work only long enough to collect the money they need to pay taxes or to fulfill other obligations; they often become homesick and dissatisfied with their food and quarters, particularly if they have left their wives in the villages..."[1/]

This impermanence of city-ward migration, involving as it does the return of the migrant to his village, helps to spread knowledge of urban life among the rural population, and in this way may make up to some extent for the non-migrants' lack of mobility. The cohesion of the family, however, is necessarily disrupted by the absence of the breadwinner, be it frequent or rare, long or short.[2/] The extent and nature of the disruption depend on many factors, some of which will be reviewed below. As urbanization progresses, as some reports suggest at least for certain areas, there is a tendency for

/ rural-urban

1/ United Nations, Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Underdeveloped Countries, op. cit., p. 21. See also Robert I. Crane, "Urbanism in India", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LX, No. 5, March 1955, pp. 466-467.

2/ The disruption may be real and serious, even when the absence of a family member is necessary to maintain the family's level of living and he is virtually sent to the city in order that he may make cash contributions to the family's budget. This may apply particularly to the sending of very young family members to the towns for a temporary sojourn - and employment.

rural-urban migration to become more permanent and increasingly a movement of families rather than of individuals.[1]

It is perhaps at this point that a line must be drawn, essential in any treatment of this problem, between the process of urbanization and the condition of "urbanism". The former is a process of transition, of change; in the latter, adjustment has occurred, and patterns of family life, as most social aspects of living, have adjusted themselves to the town. While, of course, any study of urbanization must deal fully with the effects of town life and its problems, these persist well after the process of urbanization has come to a halt. For instance, many unsatisfactory features of social life that are ascribed to the effects of urbanization, such as juvenile delinquency and slums, are found to exist in various old-established cities, to which the influx from the country has virtually ceased, and where one can thus no longer speak of continuing urbanization.

Effect on Family Life

The major effect of urbanization on family life then is the effect of rapid change, a change affecting the breadwinner's mode of earning his livelihood, a change in the physical surroundings in which a family finds itself; altogether a change from the village to the town or city. For the majority of the Asian people, this involves a change in the very concept of "family". In many countries it is the size of the family, a fairly extended group in the native village, and the various relationships within it, that are immediately affected by the move to an urban environment.

In genral, it has become accepted almost as a truism that urbanization is disruptive of family life. Family disorganization is said to be a regular feature of proletarian life in most growing cities.

/ To what

1/ P. Kokadanda Rao, "Urban Pull in India", in International Institute of Differing Civilizations, Record of the 27th Meeting, 1952, p. 222; Noel P. Gist, Selective Migration in Urban South India, op. cit., passim; Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, p. 149.

To what extent this is true and why it should be so are questions that do not lend themselves to a simple answer, nor to one that is applicable in different circumstances in different places.[1] An answer may have to be sought in an analysis of the general process of social transition involved in a large-scale economic and social re-orientation and re-organization. The preservation of pre-industrial ways of life in the city creates problems that may be insoluble but do not necessarily lead to the abandonment of these ways. The unfavourable conditions in which the newcomers settle in the towns aggravate and slow down the process of adaptation.[2]

It might even be said that the break-up of the traditional family is at the same time a result of urbanization and also in some ways a contributing cause. Economically, the extended family as a producing unit is not always able to meet the demands made upon it: increase of population, the destruction of handicrafts industries that occupied much of the time of the village family, and the creation of demands for new consumption goods have all reduced the "efficiency" of the family as an economic unit. Socially, the venerability alone of the rigid, traditional institution of the family - some four thousand years old in China - did not suffice to prevent all kinds of stresses from affecting it increasingly. There is much evidence that the introduction, usually from abroad, of ideas such as those concerning the rights of women,

/ individualism,

1/ A short answer to the question - too short perhaps to be altogether satisfactory - is the following: "Both the abnormal demographic structure of the urban population and the miserable housing conditions are main reasons for the most ominous fact of urban life, i.e. the deterioration of the family" - J.H.A. Logemann "The characteristics of urban centres in the East". in Eastern and Western World, The Hague, Bandung, p. 95.

2/ Bert F. Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 179.

individualism, and "progress" generally, began to undermine the strength and vitality of the traditional family. Reports of frictions and strains antedate the recent burst of industrialization and urbanization. Cause and effect are intertwined. On the one hand, "in the family, the authority of the elders - who traditionally decided what plot of land should be sold, bought, leased, or rented, who should marry whom and what dowry should be offered, how the work has to be assigned to the members of the family, etc. - is increasingly opposed by the judgment of younger men,"[1] and "in recent years ... disrupting tendencies have set in and disintegration of the joint family has already begun."[2] This tendency may help to condition the younger men for departure from the village. At the same time, life in the town may not be conducive to the type of family life they would have liked to substitute.

It cannot be repeated too often, however, that rural-urban migrants do not by any means constitute a homogeneous group. Some move as individuals, others in family groups. Although the impact of the change, of the sudden introduction to urban life, is likely to be sharp in all cases, it may be useful to divide the urban immigrants into three broad groups: unmarried individuals; breadwinners leaving wife and children behind; and the conjugal family consisting of husband, wife and minor children.

/ In the first

1/ Preliminary Report of the World Social Situation, op. cit., p. 180.

2/ S. Chandrasekhar, "The Hindu Joint Family", Social Forces, Vol. 21, No. 3, March 1943, p. 333.

In the first case, the family problem is least serious. In a situation of agricultural under-employment, the absence of a member of the family is not likely to undermine its economic welfare, and indeed cash contributions sent by him from the city may help to raise the village family's level of living. His departure will have weakened the cohesion of the family and, by example, may affect the cohesiveness of other families in the village. The migrant himself will have far greater demands placed on him for adaptation and adjustment. That these may tax him severely is clear. The position at its worst is described in the following statement, made with reference to another area but apparently intended to be of universal applicability:: "The individual who breaks his family ties to such an extent that he practically loses contact with his family has no roots and, therefore, is unstable and dissocial."[1/] The influx of large numbers of unattached men creates or aggravates a number of social problems that indirectly and in the long run have repercussions on family life. Several Far Eastern cities, not unlike some in Europe and in other continents, face serious problems of prostitution. Equally grave may be the prevalence of non-marital unions, giving rise to large numbers of children born out of wedlock and of unmarried mothers.

In the case of the man leaving his wife and children in the village, the situation is far more complicated. As already mentioned, his absence in the town may be short or long, he may return to the village frequently or only rarely. In any case, the wife and children are deprived of those forms of emotional security that a husband and father normally provides. The wife is likely to suffer most. Surrounded as she often is by in-laws only, sometimes hostile,[2/] any protection she may have had from her husband is no longer available to her.

/The children

1/ En Mesa Redonda, Testimonio, No. 54, August-September 1953, Bogota, Colombia, quoted in Causes and Effects of the Rural Exodus, Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., 1953, p. 26.

2/ S. Chandrasekhar, "The Hindu Joint Family", op. cit. p. 333 ; Shu-Ching Lea, "China's Traditional Family, its characteristics and disintegration", American Sociological Review, Vol. 18 No. 3, June 1953, p. 277.

The children would seem to fare best. Still enjoying the affection of mother and grand-parents, they also have the company of cousins and other contemporaries in the village community. The husband's position in the urban area is somewhat similar to that of the bachelor, except that his obligations to the family back in the village are much greater. The extent to which he meets them will of course vary. One of the great dangers is that of his forming a second quasi-family in the town that will compete with the village family for his earnings and affections. It is partly this state of affairs that has led to the observation that "the instability of the urban family results in increasing numbers of deserted mothers and abandoned children."[1/]

When the entire conjugal family - husband, wife and children - makes the move to the town, the full impact of urbanization is directly felt, of course, by every member. The nature and extent of this impact will vary from family to family; it varies, apparently, according to the physcial lay-out of the town, and it is different in the smaller urban centre and in the large metropolis. Often, the family does not, and cannot, know whether its stay in the town is going to be a permanent one. This doubt produces an ambivalence of feeling. The family is now urban, but it was rural yesterday and may be so again to-morrow.[2/] The incentive to form attachments in the city, to become integrated into urban life cannot be strong. Hence the effort may not be worthwhile and the family becomes unstable, neither urban nor rural.[3/] This difficulty is often aggravated by other factors. Many large towns are surrounded by a semi-urban fringe which is the natural stopping-off place for the recent

/arrival from the

1/ United Nations, Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-developed Countries, op. cit., p. 124.

2/ In many industrialized countries a strong tendency has been noted, and fully documented, for rural-urban migration to take place in stages, that is to say successively from village to small town, from small town to larger town, and so on. In the countries in earlier stages of industrialization there is insufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that the process there is similar. It is therefore assumed that the bulk of rural-urban migrants move directly from villages to towns of various sizes. For confirmation of this assumption, in the case of Japan, see "Aspects of Urbanization in ECAFE Countries", op. cit., p.6.

3/ Bert F. Hoselitz, op.cit. pp. 175-176.

arrival from the country.[1] This fringe combines some of the features of urban and rural life. It may accentuate the disadvantages of both. Often improvements planned for the urban population are too far away for the newly arrived family to benefit from them. Rural improvement schemes are likely to be concentrated in areas more typical of village life.

The family in urban surroundings is an entity quite different from its former self. It is a unit socially and economically divorced from the relatives with whom its members are likely to have lived and worked in the village. In India, the change has been said to result in "the improved status of women, the decline in the despotism of the joint family ruler as well as the mother-in-law, and the lesser vogue of purdah or the veil and, in general, the increasing reorientation of the alignment of family relations from mother and son to husband and wife."[2] Nevertheless, "the urban wife... finds herself without the functions that gave her a definite status in the traditional system."[3] The function, in particular, that she is no longer able to fulfill may be that of preparing her children for adult life. The children raised in the city are likely to enter occupations with which the mother is hardly familiar, and the very exigencies of industrial and commercial work and urban life for which preparation is needed are those with which she is herself only becoming acquainted. It appears, in fact, often to be the case that the children are the agents in integrating the family into urban life, rather than vice-versa. The children, less steeped in tradition, quickly become knowing in the ways of the city, and help the mother who tends, at the beginning at least, to remain somewhat secluded, to

/become acquainted

1/ "The urban and rural may jostle together in towns and cities, but the preponderant part of the so-called urban population of Burma appears to be, for all practical purposes of city life, largely rural minded" - United Nations, Social Services in Burma, TAA 173/85/04 (Report No. TAA/BUR/0), 1 October 1955, p. 3. Similar descriptions can be found for most other countries of the region. See, for instance, Ll.M. Nugroho, "Some political aspects of urbanization in Indonesia", in International Institute of Differing Civilizations, op. cit., pp. 504-505.

2/ B.K. Madan, "The Economics of the Indian Village and its Implications in Social Structure", International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. III, No.4,

3/ Rhona Sofer, Family Problems in a Society of Early Industrialization, Paper presented at the World Population Conference, 1954, UN document E/CONF. 13/378, p. 13.

become acquainted with these ways. In cases where the language spoken in the city is different from that current in the family's village, the children are likely to learn the new language most quickly and the mother may do so more slowly than the rest of the family. The children become interpreters and, in a way, the best language instructors. On the other hand, the father, newly but fully immersed into the new life, may be of considerable help in preparing his children for urban life. But new influences will be at work too : the schools, city-bred contemporaries, and even media of mass information may provide training and knowledge not obtained, or required, in the village. This may, at the same time, be productive of frictions in parent-child relationships. The seeds of friction exist both in the difference in the rates at which the parents and the children become adapted, and in the almost inevitable reduction in parental authority and supervision, the first resulting from the fact that respect is corroded by the apparent "backwardness" of the parents.

The fate of the children, the most adaptable members of the family, is apt to vary most, according to the conditions of the particular towns. So far as physical amenities are concerned, "hardly any of the cities in the region have open spaces adequate to provide healthful exercise for young people ; none have well-equipped and properly supervised playgrounds for younger children in poor neighbourhoods."[1] That is not to say that there are no advantages. For instance, "it is clear that maternal and child welfare schemes are easier to organize and operate in urban areas."[2] The material aspects of children's lives in the rapidly growing cities of under-developed countries tend, on the whole, to be unsatisfactory. The psychological adjustment to urban life, and the changes that occur in parent-child relationships are less susceptible to evaluation. On the one hand, the reduction in the size of the family is likely to lead to closer relationships with parents. At the same time, however, the smaller family is much less of an all-inclusive unit. Various functions, particularly the economic, may no longer be a family affair. Home and work often become separated. The father is likely to be absent during much of the day earning a living. Furthermore, various allurements of the city may compete with his attachment to his family.

/Very often

1/ United Nations, Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, op. cit., p. 178.

2/ S.S.B. Gilder, Chief, Technical Information Unit, Division of Organization of Public Health Services, World Health Organization, "Urbanization and Social Medicine", in International Institute of Differing Civilizations, op. cit., p.77.

Very often the mother will also work. This indeed may be part of the reasons for the family's migration. The improvement in the status of women in an urban setting, noted above, is to some extent due to their ability to obtain employment. The employment opportunities for women, whether the wives of in-migrants from the villages or unattached, although limited by the generally low level of skill they are able to achieve, are expanding. The studies of the lives of working mothers in the Asian cities are fragmentary and do not give a clear picture of whether the change from rural family employment represents an improvement in her position.[1/] To an increasing extent the mother's work will take her out of the home for substantial parts of the day and raises a problem of supervision of children that is unlikely to exist in the village, where the mother would be working in close proximity to the children, and where other family members would be available for this purpose. This factor is related to the general question of the employment of children in urban areas.

Child labour

Economic activity by children is very wide-spread and even traditional in many countries of the region.[2/] In the village, the child, within its limits, contributes to family production. "The child in such a society is simply protected from exploitation for another's gain. But with the impact of the money economy, ... the employment of children both inside and outside their homes can be used by outsiders for their own ends without regard to the children's welfare."[3/]

Two types of legislation are intended to limit the incidence of child labour.[4/] Most of the countries have laws setting lower age limits for the

/employment of

1/ For a strong argument that it does not, see D.P. Mukerji, "The Dual Role of Women". Paper presented to International Alliance of Women, August 1955 (Doc. No. C 50/1955), p. 2.

2/ International Labour Organisation, Measures for the Protection of Young Workers in Asian Countries (Asian Regional Conference, Tokyo, Sept. 1953) Geneva, 1953, pp. 15 ff.

3/ United Nations, Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, op. cit. p. 175.

4/ Other forms of regulation of the employment of children and young persons, of course, exist and have been recommended. They include provisions for medical examinations to determine physical fitness, limitation of working hours in general and night work. See International Labour Organisation, op. cit., pp. 86 ff.

employment of children, at least for some occupations. The ages specified range from 14 to 12. School attendance requirements also, indirectly and theoretically, set lower limits. These latter regulations are often unenforceable. Not only does general poverty sometimes make the child's financial contribution to the family budget essential, but shortages of educational plant and personnel nullify attendance requirements. Minimum-age laws are also difficult to enforce. Where this can be done, it is most likely that the provisions will be applied most rigorously to large and often efficient and healthy, enterprises. As a result "... children have been kept out of the larger factories, where conditions are relatively good, and are to be found in small back-street undertakings where conditions are unregulated and may be much worse."[1/]

These conditions, combined with the lack of parental supervision already mentioned, contribute to the engagement of large numbers of children and youths in many kinds of so-called street occupations. These activities, often of a questionable if not entirely illicit nature, are held to be generative of much of the juvenile delinquency that is an almost regular feature of urban life.

The children's lives in the city are also apt to be affected much more than in the village by family break-ups. Quite apart from the question of whether separation and divorce are more likely to occur in an urban rather than a rural environment,[2/] the results of a divorce are much more serious for the children, when the extended family no longer exists. The absorption of the divorced wife and her children into her family's household does not present anything like the problem posed by an urban wife responsible for children, and having to earn enough herself for rent, clothes, food and other necessities.[3/]

/The most

1/ Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, op. cit. p. 112.

2/ Higher divorce rates in towns may of course signify many different things, of which the de facto right of wife to a divorce is only one. The ability to obtain employment increases the wife's independence and may cause her to seek a divorce, while in the village she might be a burden to her family. Similarly marital discord may be increased by the city's many other stresses, whereas in the village the seeds of this discord may be diluted in the broader harmony of the extended family. Desertion, also, is not only more likely to occur in the town than in the city, but will leave the urban wife in a much harsher position.

3/ Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrialization and Social Welfare, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, November 1955, pp. 54-56.

The most radical form of family dissolution, death, has the most terrible effect on city children. In the village, the death, or even both parents will not rob a child of all affection and security. Relatives of various degrees will protect and rear the orphan. In the city, only a little after the age of infancy has been passed, the orphan will try to fend for himself, economically and socially. For the younger child even the better orphanages, and they are rare, will hardly offer the same advantages as his kin's protection.

Contrasts between the urban and rural environment

In a discussion of rural-urban migration, emphasis is often necessarily placed on the contrasts between the rural and the urban areas and ways of life. This emphasis must not be allowed to obscure the many similarities. The village is becoming increasingly urbanized, and the towns still have many characteristically rural features. The differences between cities containing large industrial enterprises that employ much of the population, on the one hand, and towns that have grown as commercial, governmental and cultural centres, on the other, are considerable. Many of the large towns of the region are in the latter class. Their economic life, although based on a money economy and no longer agricultural, allows much scope for the continuation of family enterprise. This applies to various types of manufacturing, cottage and handicrafts industries, retail trades and many kinds of personal and similar services. While in the extreme case, therefore, the change from rural to urban surroundings involves a change from collective, family-type economic activity to an individualized one, typified by factory employment, many variations are found between this extreme and the opposite extreme where relatively little changes but the locale of the families' residence and work. The sharpness of the contrast is also reduced by the urbanization of villages. This is a general process, varying in the different villages, and from country to country. It involves increasing familiarity, through general use, with all types of manufactured goods ranging from sewing machines and bicycles to metal cooking utensils, it also involves the merchanization of some village crafts, and

/increasing

increasing contact with the urban world through the cinema and the radio.[1]

It is thus extremely important, in analyses of the process of urbanization, that a proper balance be struck, that the exceptional not be considered the typical, nor the rare occurrence the general state of affairs. The infinite gradations that exist may be as important as the over-all trends that may be more easily discernible. The great variety that exists in family structure and family functions is necessarily reflected in the differences in the kinds and degrees of adaptation to urban life that are required.

Certain features are characteristic of many towns of the region. By and large their growth, like that of the movements that give rise to it, is unplanned. The towns tend to expand faster than physical facilities and social services are, or often can be, provided. Therefore, "... the rapidly developing industrial city in this part of the world has recapitulated all of the evils through which the industrial city elsewhere has passed. Housing conditions, working conditions, recreational facilities, and sanitary conveniences have all been incredibly bad, and food has been scarce and unwholesome."[2] These conditions are not simply the results of urban life. The reflect, at least to a degree, the extent of rural destitution and agricultural stagnation. The warning has indeed been voiced that "rural distress is in danger of being replaced by urban distress, with a cruel waste of human lives and productive resources."[3]

/It is primarily

1/ Some industrialized villages are described in M. Nash, "Some notes on Village Industrialization in South and East Asia", Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. III, No.3, April 1955, pp. 271-277.

2/ Kingsley Davis, op. cit., p. 136.

3/ United Nations, Proceedings of the World Population Conference, op. cit., p. 93. The persistence of some rural ways - and evils - is illustrated in the following extract : "... child labour in factories may be regarded as a continuation of the much less harmful rural custom of child labour on the farm; and urban slums often reveal a carry-over to cities of rural methods of house construction, refuse disposal, use of water, and so on." - United Nations, Problems and Processes of Industrialization in Under-Developed Countries, op. cit., p. 119.

It is primarily the lamentable conditions of the physical environment within the city to which have been attributed the adverse effects of urbanization on family life.[1/] But as with may other aspects of urbanization it must be stressed that the contrast between urban and rural conditions, even with regard to housing, can be easily exaggerated. In the field of housing the very concentration of large numbers of people, and of dwellings, in the confined areas of the towns is likely to strike the observer, and similarly bad conditions in villages, because hundreds rather than hundreds of thousands of people are involved in one locality, may escape his notice.

Review of Social Implications

This brief survey of the effects of urbanization on family life has tried, on the whole, to pose questions rather than to supply answers. It may be useful to group the questions together, not so much because it will then become easier to answer them, but because discussion on what the questions should be might help to indicate the direction social research on the family should take. Furthermore, discussion of, and agreement on, the major questions could bring out the fields in which social action is most needed. There is very wide agreement that the process of urbanization poses a great challenge to governmental authorities at all levels, to voluntary agencies, to employers and other entrepreneurs, as well as, of course, to the individuals who are most directly involved. While even the greatest awareness of the problems will not be enough to provide solutions, without it either no attempts will be made or they will be misguided and doomed to failure.

The first question, or rather consideration, concerns the quantitative assessment of the situation. Information on rural-urban migration, including the number of migrants, their composition by sex and age, and family status, and

/so on,

1/ Many references to this point could be cited. Two quotations illustrate this view : "In towns and cities the crucial problem to be solved is the deficiency in housing which disintegrates the family with all its bad consequences." - "Conclusions concerning the social aspect", International Institute for Differing Civilizations, op. cit., p. 616 ; and "The primary problem appears to be housing, as inadequate housing lies at the root of so many deficiencies." - J.H.A. Logemann, op. cit., p. 94

so on, is needed not just to provide a measurable phenomenon for study, but rather because this knowledge would help in coping with the numbers who have already migrated and, perhaps even more important, because it makes possible the more intelligent forecasting of what is likely to happen in the future. On this basis a much greater element of planning could be brought to play on the subject. Such planning, conspicuously but often unavoidably, absent in much of the region in the past, could produce rich results in the future.

The scope of planning in regulating rural-urban migration or the growth of cities is limited. The limits are imposed both by the desire to preserve the individual's freedom to choose his place of work and residence, even though the social and economic consequences may be grave, and by the difficulty of forecasting the trends of all the tangible and intangible factors that determine the location of cities and their growth.

Before dealing with the losses caused by the city, losses by the typical Asian family of various characteristics and functions, reference should be made to some positive, although not necessarily beneficial, effects of urbanization. These arise from the huge concentrations of people found in cities. Some urban problems are problems only because large numbers are involved. The proportion of special groups, for instance, in the total population may be no higher in the cities than in the country; spread over all the villages, their members will constitute exceptional cases, but concentrated in the city they assume the features of a mass. This may be true, for example, of the physically or mentally handicapped. The proportion of handicapped people may be higher in the urban than in the rural environment but this is not what causes a problem. A given proportion of mentally defective persons would result in most villages having at the most a few cases; in the city the same proportion would yield thousands. What creates difficulties and requires action in the cities is part of the normal social overhead of village life.

/The family in

The family in the city has been shown to be unable to perform certain functions and to fulfill needs that are regular features of rural life, especially where the joint family prevails. These functions and needs involve both material aspects of life and a number of moral and psychological ones.1/ The material functions are the easiest to identify and perhaps even to supply urban substitutes for. The non-material ones defy simple identification, and time and ingenuity are required if appropriate urban replacements are to be found.

Unemployment, sickness, old age, widowhood and disabilities are some of the conditions for which provision is made in the increasingly elaborate social security systems of most highly developed countries. In the field of maternal and child welfare, also, progress is being made and many new types of social services are being introduced. In the agrarian communities of Asia some of these services were probably not previously required because the needs that gave rise to them did not exist. Day care services, for instance, are rare where wage employment of women is unknown and children uninterruptedly receive their mothers' care and protection or that of other adult members of the family. Other needs, however, exist irrespective of economic and social systems. These needs the extended family was well fitted to meet. While ill health, old age and orphanhood, for instance, were always handicaps, the family was well able because of its size - and willing - because of its strong emotional attachments - to carry the burdens imposed. Both ability and willingness are reduced in the city. Its ability is not only limited by the smaller size of the family but also by the fact that its level of living depends upon a money income. This income allows but little elasticity. The loss of an income-earner or the addition of a dependent upsets the family's budget and depresses its level of living. When both events are combined, as they so often are, the result for the family may be catastrophic.

/The arising,

1/ Catherine Bauer, "The Pattern of Urban and Economic Development: Social Implications", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Vol. 305, May 1956, p. 66.

The arising, or the awakening, of individualism affects the willingness to make sacrifices for any but the closest relatives. This new individualism has been considered a factor both giving rise to urbanization and following from it. A degree of individualism must exist in order that members of a joint family may decide to leave it. On the other hand, industrialized and urbanized society sets a premium less on status and kinship and more on individual achievement.

The non-material losses suffered by the family in an urban environment are mainly two-fold. In the extended family there is much scope for the development of many and close personal relationships. What takes their place in the city? "City-consciousness" or "civic pride" is a possible substitute, but it has been found, at least by some observers and for reasons rooted in social history, to be singularly lacking in most of the Asian cities.[1/] In some Far Eastern cities, various types of neighbourhood associations and other fraternal groupings have sprung up, supplying perhaps some of the missing relationships.[2/]

The second type of non-material wants that are more easily supplied in the rural extended family consists of the various psychological satisfactions and rewards connected with the family celebration of religious rituals and such events as births, marriages and deaths. This is a subject of great complexity and one on which much more research appears to be needed. It is true, of course, that religious services are held in the city also, as are weddings and funerals. The fact that the celebrating family is no longer so large, that the event has not been anticipated and prepared for over a long period, that it is not likely to be long remembered as truly memorable, all tend to reduce the satisfaction that the participants will obtain.

/Both types

1/ American Economic Association, "Papers and Proceedings of the Sixty-seventh Meeting", in American Economic Review, Vol. XLV, No. 2, May 1955, p. 186.

2/ Jean L. Comhaire, "Economic Change and the Extended Family", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 305, May 1956, p. 51.

Both types of non-material factors contribute to a sense of belonging and a sense of security, not to speak of a sense of fulfilment. Their absence or their reduced importance in city life is likely to produce emotional voids, at least during the period of adjustment. These cannot be filled by social services alone. Mass media of entertainment and communication seek to supply the missing satisfactions, but there is much doubt that they can do so successfully.

One of the questions most frequently raised is whether urban substitutes can be found for the losses in emotional security that the family suffers in the city. It is certainly possible to supply substitutes for the material losses in security, and in this sense it is easier to do so. The social service functions formerly undertaken within the extended family must now be largely the responsibility of the community at large, in one form or another. Much can be done by voluntary agencies, including trade unions and other associational groupings based on common interests, and certain contributions are expected from employers. The demands on the individual and on the smaller family inevitably increase.[1/] But it is the State, the municipal, local or national government, that is asked to bear the major burden of relieving hardships caused by conditions and hazards over which the individual has no control, such as unemployment, old age and so on. The rate at which it assumes the responsibility and the manner in which it carries it out will to a large extent determine whether the changes that urbanization is producing in the family will transform it into a new but viable form. It also remains to be seen whether, in changing its functions, the role of the family will become more limited, or whether relieved of many traditional functions its role will be extended to emphasize the qualitative aspects of human living.

1/ "The gradual break-up of the joint family and the emergence of the small family has increased its economic problems and burdens. Family responsibilities have now to be borne at a comparatively younger age by the head of the smaller family than happened in the joint family" - Indian Planning Commission, quoted in D.P. Mukerji, "The Dual Role of Women", Paper presented to the International Alliance of Women, August 1955, (Document No. C 50/1955), p. 5.

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL

GENERAL

UNESCO/SS/CONF.URB/8
E/CN.11/URB/8
10 July 1956

ORIGINAL : ENGLISH

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

JOINT UN/UNESCO SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION IN THE ECAFE REGION

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, in co-operation with the International Labour Office

8-18 August 1956
Bangkok, Thailand

HUMAN AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION IN ASIA: SOME SOCIO-CULTURAL EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION IN DJAKARTA[1/]

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1/ Prepared for UNESCO by Mr. H.J. Heeren, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Indonesia.

1. Introduction

The contents of the following paper have been restricted to those points mentioned in the Agenda, Part I, Item 3, sub a; that is to say to the causes and effects of urbanization in Djakarta on traditional beliefs and practices, social cohesion, self-help, self-government and institutional organizations. These items were only supervisionally touched upon in the report on the Urbanization of Djakarta, as prepared for Unesco by the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the Faculty of Economics of the University of Indonesia (hereafter to be cited as "main report"). The questionnaire used for this report did not include questions as to cultural phenomena. Hence the present paper, though to be estimated against the background of the main report, is not based on research and thus necessarily of a somewhat impressionistic nature. It has been tried, however, by using what printed sources were available, to give the report a basis in actual facts. The paper has furthermore been written with a view on readers not personally acquainted with the situation in Indonesia. Therefore, those familiar with this country and its capital might find much that is self-evident to them.

One of the weak points of the Djakarta report has furthermore been its occupation with the migrants proper, while it has not tried to compare the social and cultural position of the migrants with that of the autochtonous population. The present paper will present a few remarks on this point.

Another point should be stressed. It is the conviction of the present writer that next to nothing can be discovered about the causes of migration by relying solely on the replies of people interviewed in the city. Questions as to the motives of migration are practically without value. In order to ascertain whether social, economic or cultural causes have been predominant in effecting migration, research into the areas of origin of the migrants will be necessary. The Djakarta study has therefore concentrated on the effects of urbanization rather than its causes.

/In order to

In order to understand the relationship between autochtonous population and immigrants, a short review of its historical development will be necessary.

2. Historical growth of present population structure

For an Asian city, Djakarta is relatively young. But although the town is but a few centuries of age, it has of old formed a foreign enclave amidst the rural Sundanese population. Foreign, because not only Europeans and Chinese lived within its walls, but also because the Dutch East India Company brought in a great number of slaves from other Indonesian islands or from abroad. In the course of time, these people of different ethnic origin tended to cluster together in separate kampungs (wards), still designated as Kampung Bali, Kampung Makassar, etc. This tendency still consists until the present day, as is proved by Table 15 of our main Report. Of old, the segregation of the European, Chinese and Indonesian population groups into different districts, has resulted in a strong social cohesion and homogeneity, reinforced by the fact that in the colonial social structure the three groups were also economically homogeneous. Gradually, those who were drawn into the city's orbit began to look upon themselves as distinct from their compatriots. Thus the population of the capital received a separate name, being called "Kampung Betawi", after the old Dutch name for the city, Batavia. They came to speak a language of their own as well, the so-called "Batavia Malay", consisting of Malay with Sundanese and Chinese words.

Typical for the pre-war situation was the ease with which new immigrants were absorbed. People whose parents had moved into the city and who thus belonged to the second generation already tended to consider themselves native Djakartanese. Of course, this was made easy by the relatively small number of immigrants: about 10,000 a year in the period 1920-1930 as against about 100,000 yearly after 1950!

As is proved by Table 6 of our main Report, the year 1950 was to constitute the great turning point in the composition of the population. In that year the broad stream of immigrants began to flow into the city, many of them originating in Central Java. This was partly caused by the transfer of the capital of the Republic from Djokjakarta back to Djakarta early that year.

/In order

In order to form a picture of the socio-cultural situation in Djakarta, the difference (and sometimes the tension) between the Kaum Betawi and the new immigrants should constantly be kept in mind. Quantitatively, the Kaum Betawi, are outnumbered about three to one by the newcomers (Table 3 of main Report). The newcomers in themselves, however, from a very heterogeneous group. They comprise lower class Sundanese day-labourers as well as Javanese civil servants and Minangkabau traders.

From a recent unpublished report by the Department of Mass Education of the Ministry of Education[1/] we are able to present some new figures on the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of three Djakarta kampungs. These kampungs were situated respectively in the centre of the city, on the rural-urban border and in the completely rural surroundings. It was found out that the number of Kaum Betawi increased when going from the centre to the rural area: resp. 31, 71 and 98 per cent of the people considering themselves native Djakartanese. Of course, this tallies with the number of immigrants in these wards, who comprised respectively 50, 28 and 0.1 per cent of the inhabitants. This means that kampungs with a predominantly Kaum Betawi population gradually increase when going from the centre to the outskirts.

In the last five years, moreover, the gradual disappearance of the European Indo-European groups has opened up the Western quarters of the cities to Indonesians. It has mostly been the group of government servants, many of them Javanese, which has moved into these areas. Thus, they were the first to live outside the kampung-atmosphere and its social control. Western urban characteristics are consequently most developed in this group.

3. Traditional beliefs and practices

There exists a well-established tradition in sociological handbooks as well as in literature as to the detrimental effects of urbanization. It is stated that the city population shows either deculturisation, detribalization, disorganization, or anomie; that they are uprooted, wretched creatures leading a kind of animal existence until the doom of Mumford's Necropolis will devour them all. In particular Van der Kroef has applied

/these views to

1/ Laporan Panitia Penjelidikan dasar 2 Pendidikan Masjarakat (Report of the Research Committee on the Foundations of Mass Education, Djakarta) mimeographed, 1955, Table 2.

these views to Djakarta in his study of the Indonesian city[1]. He gives a depressing picture of life in Indonesian towns, citing such phenomena as corruption, political intrigue and extremism, crime and the like as instances of the decline.

Even Wertheim, whose views of city life in Indonesia are usually much more balanced and reasonable than those of Van der Kroef, sometimes seems to adhere to this idea. He states, for instance, that "Education, with its individualizing effects (has) accentuated the sense of isolation in the modern towns. Urban life (has) exercized (an) individualizing and uprooting influence on.... the Chinese and Indonesian middle class business men and on the various groups of workers".[2]

The present writer would question the validity of these views. First of all, they would not seem to be confined to the Indonesian city only, but appear as well in the countryside. Secondly, it must be doubted whether concepts like these, developed by certain pessimistic Western philosophers, may without change be applied to Asiatic cities. In particular, one phenomenon of the Indonesian city should be stressed, i.e. the persistence of rural culture traits.

In the urban kampungs people continue to live in the same style and much the same cultural milieu as in the countryside. In other words, there exists no controversy between city and country as in the West. Even ecologically there is a gradual transition between the two. The very isolation of most of the city kampungs, hidden behind trees and bushes and in the river bends, has tended to accentuate the cohesion and preserved the customs of its inhabitants. Of course, these characteristics may be most clearly observed among those groups whose occupation tends to isolate them from Western urban influence. More exposed to this influence will be the intellectual and semi-intellectual civil servants and the labourers, who both pass part of their day outside the atmosphere of the kampung. The phenomena itself was observed by Van der Kroef, whose views, so different here from those noted above, are worth quoting in full:

/"The cultural

1/ J.M. van der Kroef: The City; its Culture and Evolution, in: Indonesia in the Modern World, Vol. I, Bandung 1954, p. 133 ev.
2/ W.F. Wertheim: Effects of Western Civilization on Indonesian Society, New York, 1950, p. 42.

"The cultural levelling process so characteristic of urbanism is impeded in the Indonesian cities by the persistence of rural culture traits among the inhabitants.... Rural survivals may include tradition, folkways, kinds of food, dress, housing and living arrangements, arts and music. In the Indonesian city immigrant villagers often display a marked liking for living together in an urban kampung according to original residence or area, they persist in wearing distinctive clothing peculiar to their folk culture, enjoy more or less unique forms of recreation, especially in connection with card games and gambling which vary according to the region, and so on. One consequence is that the newly arrived immigrant(s) may tend to remain "autonomous" for quite some time, adopting those traits of urban living only which are deemed indispensable, but otherwise remaining aloof".1/

We are a long way here from the same author's pessimism as noted earlier. It would seem that "autonomy" is nothing else than the cultural diversity so typical for Indonesia as a whole, which tends to reflect itself in the city as well. This diversity effectively retards the acceptance of urban culture traits. This certainly holds good with regard to religion.

There are no indications that religious life in the cities has declined. Of course, intensity of religious belief is difficult to estimate everywhere, but especially in a religion like Islam which demands few observable collective activities of its adherents. Official life is regulated with due regard to its observances. For instance, working hours in no way do interfere with religious duties, with offices and factories closing at 11 o'clock on Fridays to enable people to attend the mosque prayer. This was noted too by Logemann with regard to the port of Surabaya:...." the Javanese People.... can continue living in town in all essentials according to to standards of religion and custom they were born into".2/ The well-known Indonesian novelist: Takdir Alisjahbana, speaking about the village of Pasar Minggu close to the capital, states "It is astonishing how conservative and orthodox Islam is professed so close to Djakarta".3/ However, as social control in the kampungs is more rigid than in the Westernised quarters of the city, religious life will tend to be more lax in the latter.

/As to

1/ van der Kroef, op.cit. p. 171

2/ J.H.A. Logemann: "The characteristics of urban centres in the East.", in Eastern and Western World,

3/ S. Takdir Alisjahbana: "De botsing van Oost en West" (The conflict between East and West) in "Sticusa-Jaarboek" Amsterdam 1950, p. 52.

As to Protestantism, it would even seem that the different churches and sects flower more in the city than in the country. For the town of Macassar there is a study by Chabot[1], who has pointed out that the various ethnic groups living there successfully reinforce their internal cohesion by adhering to different churches or sects. Djakarta, the Batak church and missionary groups evacuated from China would seem to be particularly active, while Djokjakarta has an influential Catholic minority.

Among the traditional practices we may include customary feasts as well as the use of language. Among the former, circumcision and marriage are the most important. It has already been noted that rural traditions and folkways instead of disappearing are still largely adhered to. On the contrary, with the increase of wealth in the city feasts tend to assume potlatch like dimensions. "Conspicuous consumption" all too frequently occurs in order to increase one's status. This might be explained by the fact, that in a city status can only be proved by showing off one's monetary wealth, whereas in the country status is determined by descent and/or the size of landholdings. In general, Indonesian society shows a strongly developed status-consciousness, partly because it only recently emerged from feudalism. This tendency has been fast developed among the Kaum Betawi, who already know and acknowledge each other's status, most among the immigrants who yet have to acquire it. In addition, the Kaum Betawi even have a reputation among the other groups for the stinginess of their feasts. It is not impossible that the tendency to display wealth has enhanced graft and corruption among the immigrant group. Running into debt because of excessive feast-giving is not uncommon.

The development of a separate language among the Kaum Betawi, as already touched upon, has certainly been a remarkable phenomenon. The "Djakarta Malay" was a language easily picked up before the war by immigrant children, and was mostly used to address street-vendors, servants and the like. It was not used among the immigrants themselves, they either spoke the dialect of their area of orgin, or else, as far as they belonged to the upper class, Dutch. However, the grouping together of people of various areas

/in the city,

1/ H.Th. Chabot: Protestants-Christelijke groepen to Makassar. Indonesië, Vol.VII, 1954, p. 425-432.

in the city, created the need for a lingua franca, especially for the new middle class. Hence the development of a new general Indonesian language, the Bahasa Indonesia. The National Movement adopted it as its vehicle from the onset, and after the Revolution it became the national language. Schools and newspapers have carried it out all over the country, but to a large extent it still remains a city language. It is in the city that it is most extensively used and acquires its new words and expressions, while the Djakarta Malay has fallen into disuse. This forms a typical instance of a positive cultural contribution by the city, which proves that it can be a centre of cultural regeneration quite contrary to the pessimistic view as noted above.

The example might easily be extended to include other cultural expressions, for instance painting, literature and music. The new painters' schools are in particular to be found in Djokja and Bandung, while the literati lead their Bohemian life largely in Djakarta. But this would lead us far from our main subject.

4. Social cohesion and self-help

Social cohesion and social control have of old occupied an important place in Indonesian society, and the Djakartanese do not form an exception in this respect. The colonial government had little interest in kampung life and its inhabitants were largely left to themselves. This meant that they kept on to their old institutions and adat (customary law) whenever possible. For example, in 1938 Supomo investigated the adat with regard to inheritance in several Djakarta kampungs.[1/] It was found out that customary law here closely resembled that of Western and Central Java and was not influenced by either Islamic or Western ideas. This forms another instance of the resistive force of old traditions in a new environment.

Social control in the city kampung does not differ much from that in the rural ones. At first sight the greater number of inhabitants in the city kampungs would seem to provide difficulties, but these are effectively overcome by spilitting them up into several smaller ones. In fact, these subdivisions of

/kampungs,

1/ R. Supomo: Een onderzoek naar het adaterfrecht ter hoofd-plaats Batavia. (An investigation as to adat inheritance law in the capital Batavia) Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, Vol.150, 1939, p.105-124.

kampungs, designated by serial numbers, form the real social units. This is facilitated by the living together in one kampung of people of the same ethnic origin. Its inhabitants form a typical primary group, they know each other by sight and through local gossip have ample information as to each other's doings. Deviant behavior is not tolerated, and offenders are punished by ostracism or eventual banishment from the kampung. These matters are usually not brought to the police's notice. Still, old-fashioned forms of neighbour help (gotong-rojong, tolong-menolong) such as with the construction of a house, or in case of illness and accidents, birth and death, are on the decline, and certainly not to be found in kampongs consisting primarily of newcomers.

Yet it should not be supposed that the city-kampungs show a lack of co-operative spirit. It manifests itself, however, in more formal organizations for mutual aid, the most typical of which perhaps are the money-saving societies. In these, every member pays a small amount monthly, and receives his money back after a certain period (usually a year) or else in case of accidents. These societies may also work on a non-local basis, for example, among colleagues at the same office. Similar societies exist for other purposes. Probably these forms of organization are better suited to meet the needs for co-operation of the new immigrants. Their membership is usually limited to between fifty and hundred.

Larger organizations, particularly in the cultural fields, are almost always on an ethnic basis. Javanese, Bataks, Menadonese etc. still enjoy their own gamelan orchestra's, theatre groups or singing clubs exclusively among themselves. This cultural diversity may be enriching, but it certainly holds dangers of segregationalism. It would seem that only the political parties are able of organizing their members on a national level.

5. Self-government and institutional organizations

It seems appropriate to discuss here as well political life in the capital. This is of some interest, because the Kaum Betawi for some time before the last war (since 1923) possessed their own political party. Since 1927, it was represented in the Dutch-controlled People's Council by its able leader Mohd. Thamrin, who soon became one of the key figures in the

/Nationalist Movement. 1/

Nationalist Movement.[1] The party later merged into the concentration of nationalist parties, the National Fraction. After the Revolution, no attempt was made to reestablish this party, and no similar grouping took part in the first general elections of September 1955. This may perhaps be explained as a replacement of particularistic by nation-wide organizations. Still, the election figures show a remarkable difference between the capital and the rest of Java. Whereas the Indonesian Communist Party obtained 19.8 % of the votes on Java, in the capital only 11.3 % voted for it. With the Indonesian Socialist Party it was the other way around: in the capital it obtained 4.5 %, in the rest of Java only 1.3 % of the votes cast. Only a detailed study of the votes per kampong could show whether the Kaum Betawi or the immigrants have shown preference for one of these parties. But the figures stated above certainly do not point to a radicalisation of the political atmosphere in the capital. Thus, a very small part of them has voted for the left-wing parties.

Of greater significance is perhaps the structure and the functioning of the city-government in its contact with the kampung-population. Starting from the bottom upwards, we first meet a remarkable institution named Rukun Kampung. This is a neighbourhood-organization of which all the inhabitants of a kampung are members. In order to facilitate its work, the kampungs have been divided again into subdivisions, who each form a Rukun Tetangga (literally, neighbour unit). The organizations used to work on a voluntary basis, but membership is now obligatory. Their main function originally was to supervise the security in their areas, provide night watches, keep an eye on strangers and vagrants, and if necessary report their doings to higher authorities or the police. Prompt guarding against outbreaks of fire was included among its duties as well. At present, it fulfils a rather important function as intermediary

/between the

1/ See : J. Petrus Blumberger: "De nationalistische beweging in Ned.-Indie" (The nationalist movement in the Neth.-Indies), Haarlem 1931, p.41,297; J.M.Pluvier: "Overzicht van de ontwikkeling der Nationalistische Beweging in Indonesië" (Survey of the development of the Nationalist Movement in Indonesia), The Hague 1953,p.81; and also: "Verslag van de Commissie tot Bestudering van Staats-rechterlijke hervormingen" (Visman-Report), New York 1944,p.87.

between the formal city-government's lowest official, the lurah, and his subjects. The Rukun Kampung is particularly useful in transmitting new government regulations or orders to the people. By assembling all the heads of the Rukun Kampung in his jurisdiction, the lurah may easily give instructions to or receive information on his subjects. The heads of the Rukun Kampung then pass on the news by word of mouth to the Rukun Tetangga and so on to every household. Therefore, the establishment of Rukun Kampung and Rukun Tetangga is obligatory for all kampungs. They are completely democratic, and as membership usually is not larger than three to four hundred households, they are easy to organize. Heads are chosen annually, and are subject to constant control by the members. On the other hand, all other functionaries from the lurah upwards, are appointed from above, i.e. by the municipality. There are, however instances in which the head of Rukun Kampung becomes a far more influential figure in the kampung than the official lurah. In case of conflict between the two the lurah will be wise to accept the Rukun's point of view, lest he loses all contact with his subjects. This would inevitably lead to his transfer to another area sooner or later. The Rukun Kampung are perfectly aware of their power in this respect. Although these organizations may look somewhat anomalous in the present structure, where authority officially rests with the elected municipal council, it is improbable that they will disappear in the near future.

As to formal city administration, above the lurah (of which Djakarta counts 172) there are the tjamats (21) and next the wedanas (6). Legislative power rests with the elected municipal council, in which the political parties are represented. The executive (city-government council) is elected by and from among the members of the municipal council. At the top of the structure is the mayor, who is again appointed from above (the Ministry of the Interior).

However, the distance between the common people and the municipal government must be considered too great. This phenomenon was already observed by Logemann, who in his description of the Eastern city remarked: "To the urban masses of rural mentality, the activities of the municipality belong to another world, which they do not understand. Their representative may control the municipal authorities on their behalf, but they do not and cannot control /the representatives". 1/

the representatives"[1]. This holds true to Djakarta as well; contact between the council and the kampung population being insufficient. This was tragically demonstrated a short while ago in a conflict between the street vendors in one of the overcrowded market districts and the administration. The administration wanted to evict the vendors, because they were unsightly and interfered with traffic. The vendors on their part could not understand why they should not be free to perform any activity they liked in the streets. When at last the police demolished their stands they protested en masse in front of the city hall and sent delegations everywhere. Although the administration was probably in its right, public feeling ran high against it and the municipal council was obliged to vote a large sum for the rehabilitation of the vendors. The whole incident of course did not help to increase the popularity of the administration. Thus the "persistence of rural traits" in this respect may signify a certain inaccessibility to modern administrative methods. Up to now, chances for a better contact between the municipality and its subjects do not appear very great.

6. Conclusions

We are aware that the picture we have tried to paint of the socio-cultural effects of urbanization in Djakarta is not entirely free from bias. Partly as a consequence of the limitation of our subject matter as described in 1, only some social aspects of urbanization have been emphasized. Several serious problems have thus been excluded such as the housing shortage with its subsequent overcrowding; the shortage of fresh water; the traffic congestion; vagrancy; the crime wave, etc. Yet we do not believe that the picture has been greatly distorted, but this can only be confirmed by extensive new research. Still, emphasis on the positive aspects of urbanization was felt to be necessary in order to correct some current pessimistic views on the subject.

We have tried to show that there exists in Djakarta a typical persistence of rural traits in the city kampungs, which up to now has effectively prevented the deculturisation or disintegration of the immigrants. Here and there we found new forms of organization adapted to the urban environment. As there are signs that the greatest influx of immigrants is over, the city will probably embark upon a quieter future, in which it may try to build a better life for its inhabitants, both new and old.

1/ J.H.A. Logemann: op. cit. p. 102.